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POSTSCRIPT
OF A
LETTER

ADDRESSED TO THE

Rt. Hon. THOMAS CONOLLY,

SECRETARY,

TO THE

WHIG CLUB.

Quicquid delirant Regum Ministri—plectuntur.

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1790.



A

POSTSCRIPT

TO A

LETTER, &c.

SIR,

I UNDERSTAND from tolerably good authority, and you probably know by experience, that it is the practice of some of the servants of government in this country, to mingle in private life with DISTINGUISHED PATRIOTIC CHARACTERS, not for the purpose only* of sharing in social enjoyments, but with a view to seize whatever precious moments, and propitious opportunities may occur, of softening the severity of a strict virtue, and detaching the friend of freedom from the cause of his country. If his principles be less accessible than his politeness, those very dear *private friends*, become bitter and implacable public enemies. Their Enmity, however, does not

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alter the smiling serenity of their countenances; nor does disappointment diminish the assiduity of their cultivation. With the liberal policy, and the feeling moderation of Spanish Inquisitors, they condescend still to converse with the OBSTINATE HERETIC, whom, despairing to reclaim, they have marked for persecution; and tho' the faggots are piled, and the flames are kindling, by their order, for his destruction, yet they have his happiness much at heart, and express the kindest concern for his felicity both here and hereafter.

Such, Sir, *are some of those who* associate in private with the Secretary of the WHIG CLUB, who mingle with the crowds to whom his hospitable gates are open, and who exhibit *imposing appearances*, which might deceive a sincerity more suspicious than yours, and obtrude themselves on an openness of heart and of manners less unreserved. These are the men who employ the *low retainers of their party*; who encourage the *humble followers of a corrupt faction*; to criminate the honourable motives of honourable men; to villify the views of a virtuous association; and to traduce and misrepresent the patriotic principles of a constitutional party. Nay more, Sir, I am grossly indeed misinformed, if these Rt. Hon. companions of your sports in the field, and of your pleasures at the table, did not themselves furnish topics of abuse, revise the performance, and correct the composition of a pamphlet which lately made its appearance in the form of a letter addressed to you, as Secretary of the Whig Club; in which they have been pleased, with the most friendly and familiar good nature, to bestow on you almost every epithet that disgraces
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and deny you almost every quality that adorns human nature.

In truth, Sir, without being aware that their malignity was kindness—without apprehending that scurrilous defamation was applause, they have acted, without intending it, a friendly part: and more strongly fortified by the manner of their attack, a character before impregnable to the assaults of detraction. Your fame is now completely unequivocal. It becomes the object of their calumny. If their arts could have seduced you to a direliction of the constitution, or loosened your connection with those true Friends of their country, who have embodied against Corruption, or slackened your zeal in the pursuits of those measures which tend to the safety of your sovereign, and the security of your country; or betrayed you into any acts of inconsistency with the character you have uniformly supported: your fame would not have been the subject of their *negative panegyric*. No Praise can be so flattering to you as their Slander; because their avowed approbation might bring an highly RESPECTED NAME into contempt with your countrymen; but when the Assertors of national servility—the Abettors of corruption—the Champions of the Marquis of Buckingham and his administration revile your conduct, and decry your principles, we are then most convinced that no Taint has touched the one, and no Corruption infected the other; and that you are not only CHASTE, but above the suspicion, and beyond the possibility of becoming a *prostitute*.

It may not be, Sir, a little time very badly mispent to shew the authors of this pamphlet (for it is the joint work of more than one or two) that the tone of Power does not always accord with the voice of Reason: and it may be of some profit, to the good people, of this country, to point out to them the falsehoods, and impostures, that glare through every line of a production which might without much impropriety, be called the reading-made-easy of Slavery and Corruption.

The scope is to disparage the WHIG CLUB; to render Parliamentary integrity disreputable; to reconcile us to an *unbounded* waste of royal and national Revenue; to make us pleased with an unlimited Pension List; and bring us into good humour, with the Police;—and the Marquis of Buckingham.

Such are the objects of a publication which almost carry their own refutation, on the bare statement. It is my task, a sorry one it is, and I almost blush at the meanness of stooping to it, to refute the unplaussible fallacies which abound in this courtly performance; to demonstrate to the Nation, that its interest is almost less injured by the acts; than its understanding is insulted, by the advocates of these abominable positions. It is a work of some charity in the intention, and may perhaps be of some utility hereafter in the execution, to furnish an antidote against their poisons, and chastise these political *Quacks* who presume to vend them to the people. Other *Scribblers*, who have not wholly lost all sense of public spirit, and who may be solicited by the *successful stupidity of incapable and halfwitted Statesmen*, to debase a somewhat purer integrity, and prostitute somewhat better parts

parts may be deterred from like exhibitions of their ingenuity, by the contempt and abhorrence that must follow dishonest exertion; when they find that discovery is disgrace,—that they will be pointed, at as the men, who endeavour to set up a *systematical baseness*, as a model of perfection; and establish a *profligacy of the worst kind* upon principle.

In order to attack the resolutions of the Whig Club, the Castle Pamphleteers have recourse to an artifice equally innocent and ingenious. The language of the resolutions is altered, and the forms which the Club gave them are distorted by a forgery more fantastique than fanciful. The *shadow* is then combated as if it was a substance, and the fabrications committed by themselves are assailed even in their new shapes, with more vehemence than success, as if these phantoms were realities. A lye preceding, and made the source of enquiry, cannot end in verity; the stream of truth cannot be derived from the fountain of falsehood.

The real preamble, to the real resolution of the Whig Club is as follows :

“ Whereas under the circumstances of our
 “ renovated constitution we deem it necessary that a constant and unremitting
 “ watch should be kept against every step
 “ of encroachment upon those rights
 “ which have been lately re-established,
 “ and for the safety of which we cannot
 “ but apprehend more danger from an
 “ administration, which has already insidiously attempted to infringe them than
 “ we should from a Ministry formed of
 “ those men, under whose power and with
 “ whose concurrence they were originally
 “ restored

“ restored to us, and whose principles we
 “ must approve, because they are our
 “ own.”

It is not unnatural, nor I hope unreasonable in a People, recently released from the fetters of an ignominious bondage, to look with some degree of suspicion at a Faction, either in this, or the other country, who delighted to see us in chains, and who opposed with equal *humanity and justice*, every effort for our EMANCIPATION ; a *Faction* which at a very late period attempted, by an insidious offer of problematical advantages in commerce, to infringe our renovated rights, and strangle our infant constitution in its cradle. Abhorrence of a Faction with *such views, and of such principles* ; who would recommit us to the slavery from which we have escaped, and rebase us, into the state of humiliation above which we have lately been exalted ; abhorrence of such men is a sentiment, which national prudence binds to the heart of national honor. We would not deserve to be the nation we are, if we could regard such men in either kingdom, with a moderate degree of detestation.

These men forming a great Faction in both kingdoms, possessing an unconstitutional, because a *secret influence* in the Cabinets, and leaning upon dangerous and corrupt support in the Senates of both nations, are pointed at : as another numerous body with different views, and of *directly opposite principles*, are pointed to, by the preamble to your resolutions ; and not as is falsely stated not any one, or two, Individuals of either party in Great Britain or Ireland.

We should be equally unworthy of the rank we hold amongst nations—we would deserve to be placed, amongst the basest, and meanest of mankind ;

mankind; if we could forget, or cease to feel, the conduct towards us of this latter party in Great Britain, when the Friends of freedom were invested with the power of the state. With respect to us, let me ask you, Sir, let me rather ask the calumniators of You and your party, to what use, did the Whig ministers, of England, apply their power, in the day of its plenitude? Did they consider, the claims of Ireland to the rights of men; an insult to the dignity, or an usurpation on the power, of their *omnipotent* Parliament? Did they pronounce the ardor of liberty, to be the flame of rebellion? Did they decree the voice of freedom to be the clamour of treason? Did they fit out fleets to ravage your coasts, and annihilate your commerce? Did they commission armies, to burn your towns, and massacre the inhabitants; or after extinguishing the *lights* of your country in blood shed by the swords of the russians, Did the expected humiliation of Irishmen, who could be abject enough to survive the contest, solace the pride of their ministers; Or did the idea of forfeitures which might follow an unsuccessful resistance, solicit their avarice.

No: when Ireland demanded her rights, the Whig ministers of England, in contradiction to the principles, and practice, of their Predecessors and Successors in office; and in opposition to the sordid murmurs, of the selfish nation, they governed, surrendered without a struggle, what they could not retain, with justice. The surrender was neither reluctant nor ungracious, nor qualified, nor restricted, as the castle writers in some part of the despicable pamphlet, addressed to you, have presumed to term it: *It was full and complete*; It was made not only without an hesitating,
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half complying, awkwardness; but with a manly and becoming grace, and with a liberal and an ingenuous benignity. God forbid I should assert, or even insinuate that our Liberty was the gift of England or of any party in it. No, at the period of our emancipation, the spirit and the wisdom of our MAN* OF IRELAND and a few associates, not unworthy of him, had pervaded, animated, enlightend the nation. The voice of Freedom was heard in the Senate, and we were all as one man convinced that life is disgraceful without Liberty: The spirit of Liberty went abroad to the nation, and we were all as one man determined to redeem ourselves from the dishonour of a slavish dependance *at any hazard*, and we succeeded.

But this I assert, that we owe to the Whigs of England, that our success was not stained with blood, or even sullied with a tear.

When the preamble to your resolution declares a distrust of those ministers, and of that faction in either kingdoms, whose rashness and injustice involved America, in the horrors of civil slaughter, for an humble assertion of modest rights; and dishonoured the arms, when they dismembered the empire, of Britain: and when it declares a confidence, in *these* ministers, and in *this* party, to whose moderation, integrity, and regard for the general rights of mankind, we owe a peaceable, and unpurchased, acknowledgment of our independence; I will be bold to say that the language of your preamble is uttered by the tongue, and echoed by the voice, of the nation. Ingratitude is a weed, that does not take a deep root, in the soil of Ireland. Nor is Ireland so blind, as to need the glasses of her enemies, to
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* Mr. Grattan.

see her real interest. Is it her interest, or disadvantage, that the APPROVED FRIENDS of the Irish constitution combine in principle, and unite in effort, with the Friends, of the general freedom of mankind, in the sister kingdom, and disclaim connection with those, whose power, defeated in an attempt to subjugate America, must be deterred rather by timidity, than principle, from a like rash experiment, on the liberties of Ireland. America cannot but remember in the triumph of her independence, that the glory of her success, and the splendor of her victory, are darkened, by shades of sorrow, for the untimely death of thousands of her sons; and Ireland I hope never will forget, that, next to a gracious Providence, she owes to the illustrious Leaders, of a virtuous party in Britain, that her constitution is secured at a less expence; that she gathers the best fruits from the tree of liberty, without beholding the blood of her GRATTANS, her CHARLEMONTS, her LEINSTERS, or her CONOLLYS at its roots.

A connection with the Whigs of Britain, upon truly Whig principles, is a confederacy against slavery in subjects, and tyranny in kings; against vice in ministers, and against corruption in senates; and against every principle or act that disgraces, or afflicts mankind, or overturns or endangers liberty, the best and the only real foundation of human happiness. Of such a connection neither you nor your Club need be ashamed: in such pursuits, neither you, nor your Club, need be studious, to conceal, the object, of your enterprize. The bond of this connection is a unity of sentiment, and, principle, not concealed, but avowed; not kept back or suppressed, but gloried in, and published.

The writers, Sir, of the silly pamphlet addressed to you, in order to discredit the institution of the Whig Club of Ireland, affect to degrade your union, with a great party in another kingdom, acting upon known, and similar, principles, into a personal, and private combination with a SINGLE INDIVIDUAL belonging to that party; and to consider the publication of your principles, not as a declaration of war against corruption in the general, and against the parties in both countries who practice and profess it; but against *a gentleman or two* in this and in that kingdom, who have been at the head, and may be shortly at the tail of the Tory party, or perhaps at the tail of the Whigs, if they sincerely repent, promise to amend, and recant their errors in the face of a national congregation.

They have taken a wrong measure of the institution, if they suppose the Whigs of Ireland either the followers, or the leaders, of the Whigs in England. Those of our country, as well as these of England, proceed upon sure, because upon known, grounds. Professing the same political faith, and believing in the same creed, the Whigs of both countries are equally the loyal subjects of their common sovereign, and the true friends of constitutional freedom in their respective states. The declared principle of union is previous concurrence, and future co-operation; not implicit adoption, or servile dependance.

Writers ingenious beyond measure and reasoners no less acute, are these pamphleteers who aver that the Whigs of Ireland have sold themselves to the Whigs of England, or to any Whig of England. Affirmation costs nothing

nothing, except the disgrace of an untruth, when the affirmation happens to be false. As well might these exquisite refiners, of castle logic, affirm, that the Protestants of Ireland, because they are Protestants, have sold their consciences and co-operation to the archbishop of Canterbury, and prove the assertion Socratically, but in a more concise and convincing way, than Socrates in his day could have proved a proposition. For instance, Are ye not Protestants? Do you not agree with the good Arch-bishop, in the articles of his religious faith, and read and believe as he does in the Bible? Therefore have ye not sold yourselves to him?

Equally true, happy, and conclusive is the assertion, that the Whigs of Ireland have, under the banners, of one of the leaders of the Whig party, in England, condescended to array themselves against the *temporary Idol* of Tory veneration, and taken up arms against a *single Person*, at present at the head of Administration. It is the idolatry, not the idol; the superstition, not the image; the principles, not the persons of the Faction, that the Whig institution condemns and would wish to reform; and if the extirpation of radical vice be impracticable, if the reformation of hardened, habitual, profligacy be impossible, it must be the wish of every rational Irishman, as well as of the Whig Club, the foremost in rank, in fortune, in talents and in virtue, amongst the men of Ireland; that whilst Ireland has any interest in the preservation of the British constitution, or any regard for the prosperity of the British nation, that the helm of the principal vessel, so long as we float together,
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and embark our joint stock, on the same voyage, should be taken out of the hands of *any person*, who, by principle, is an enemy to, and, would wish to destroy, as opportunity enabled him, the most valuable part of the cargo. If any man avows and acts upon principles manifestly mean and palpably pernicious ; the Whigs of both countries, the Honest, and the Wise, of both countries, must wish to wrest power, out of hands, in which that power, *if consistently be preserved*, can be productive of nothing, but detriment, and dishonor, to both kingdoms. And it is equally their wish, that the power of the state, should be lodged, in the hands of those, and those men only, who are worthy of the trust, those who have manifested themselves, both in principle, and in practice, the ablest Directors of the interests of the Empire, and in office and out of office the faithful and vigilant Guardians of the sacred rights of the people.

I have read over, and over, again, the preamble to the resolutions of your Club, and cannot discover by a close and repeated inspection of it, that it asserts as a principle ; first, *that an Administration formed under Mr. Pitt is more dangerous to Ireland, than an Administration, deriving under Mr. Fox.*

I would be sorry, Sir, to be under a real necessity of vindicating the Whig Club from the meanness of stooping to so inglorious a contest, or the folly of asserting so silly a principle. Their preamble is a lesson of virtue to posterity, and of prudent precaution to the present generation. It declares nothing more than this, that Men who have attempted to injure our constitution, are objects of our suspicion and distrust ; that Men under whose power,
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and with whose concurrence, we emancipated our country, are the Objects of our attachment and confidence. It names no Individual, and uses terms too general, and comprehensive to be applied, exclusively, to any particular person. Mr. Pitt is too small a mark to be fired at, by an army, of constitutional Soldiers. It would be ridiculous to point even a single cannon of the Whig Battery, against a *solitary Sparrow*, on the House top. I beg pardon of the chaste Youth for this perhaps incorrect allusion, and I hope his platonic Friends, of the softer sex, will forgive the indecency, and the injustice, of the comparison.

But, Sir, whilst I disclaim, on behalf of the Whig Club, the comment of the court, on the preamble, and deny that by fair, or any, but a wilfully false, construction, such a position can be extracted, from any part of their resolutions, yet I do not relinquish the position itself as either untrue, or indefensible. On the contrary I assert, and I think I have proved already, and shall prove more fully hereafter, that the only administration, in which Mr. Fox sustained a principal part, was of essential advantage, to the interests of Ireland. Upon what merits, or graces to this country, does Mr. Pitt rest his claims to our gratitude and confidence? What signal service has he rendered us? What benignity even of intention, has appeared in his transactions with us? THE COMMERCIAL PROPOSITIONS? Were the nation unwise in not accepting this gracious boon at the price set upon it by Mr. Pitt—improvident in not receiving a fettered commerce in exchange for an abandoned constitution? Though Mr. Pitt acted as *state Broker*, and rather dictated than proposed the conditions

conditions of the sale, we declined the purchase, when mercantile poverty was to be bought, by a surrender, of national independence. Since that day Mr. Pitt's popularity has lain upon the ground, cold, and lifeless. Shall we raise the frozen Adder from the earth, —shall we lay it close to our compassionate hearts, and cherish it into a new existence, by the vivifying warmth, of our bosoms? The venom, of the noxious Reptile, would return with its vigour: the sting of death would be the grateful reward of hospitable reanimation.

After the attempt to obtrude these infamous propositions, the fetters of our commerce, and the chains, of our constitution, the Minions of the minister who forged, and endeavoured, to fasten them on us, have the forehead to ask you, with a menacing insolence, and as if a sort of triumph, was to follow the answer; Do you assert, that an Administration formed under Mr. Pitt, is more dangerous to Ireland, than an Administration, deriving under Mr. Fox? The dignity of the Whig Club does not descend to notice, or to name, any *particular puppet* of the corrupt Faction now in power. But though you, Sir, do not answer; the people of Ireland, reply to this impudent interrogation, in the affirmative. The people of Ireland could not balance long between the two candidates, if a recollection of liberal magnanimity on the one hand, and a remembrance of actual insult, and of intended injury on the other, make due impressions on their hearts, and understandings. If their voice could decide the election of their Sovereign, the *Bliss* of England, would not be the Prime Minister of the Empire.

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The Castle scribes have literary stolen other positions from your preamble, for the, articles they have run away with, are not to be found in the place from whence they were said to be taken. These scribblers interrogate without mercy, and without end. Let me also ask questions, In what part of the preamble to the resolutions of the Whig Club, or in what part of the resolutions, do the following assertions appear?

Second, *That Mr. Fox in conceding the right of external legislation to Ireland, concurred also in the principle of that concession.*

Third, *That you (the Secretary of the Whig Club, and the Club itself) approve the principles of Mr. Fox and his associates, because they are your own.*

Whilst the eyes of these fanciful Authors, were in a fine phrenzy rolling, their imaginations bodied forth, the forms of things unknown, and gave to airy nothings, a local habitation, and a name. But where is the local habitations of the above airy nothings to be found?—In the Castle-pamphlet, not in the Preamble to your resolutions. The Bee obeying the instinct, and exercising the industry, of its Divine Director, collects honey from weeds: but human Insects, under an impulse less celestial, and with an application indefatigably malignant, endeavour to extract poison from flowers. I pity, Sir, the poor Creatures, who could have settled, and worked, so long, and so laboriously, on the resolutions of the Whig Club; and yet at the end of all their toil, and all their time, could draw nothing, from them, but fanciful, and foolish, chimeras of their own creation.

Although it will plainly appear, by comparing the *two assertions* with the PREAMBLE
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and the resolutions, of the Whig Club, that the former, are not discoverable in, the latter ; yet I wish to give these authors, the full benefit of their fabrication. On the ground they have marked out for themselves, they are to be met ; with the weapons in their hands, I might emphatically say they have *forged*, are they to be encountered, and worsted.

To my plain understanding nothing can be clearer than this, that the concession of a right, not only *implies*, but *expresses*, a concurrence of the Party conceding, in the principle of the concession. For their purpose these ingenious writers could not have selected, from the most ample vocabulary, a more unfortunate language. Mr. Fox in conceding the power of external legislation to Ireland as a *right*, must have concurred in the *principle*, of the concession, or the statute which declares, and records, it, is nonsense. For otherwise, it would be a concession of expediency, or necessity, or upon any other ground in which the Power might be surrendered, and the right retained. But in an acknowledgment of the *RIGHT* to a Power, and in the surrender of this Power ; the power and the principle, are surrendered together ; and the concession of the one as a *right*, is, in terms, and as strongly, as words can make it, a concurrence in the other.

If men will attempt to write upon any subject, without understanding the language, and blend in the same admirable composition, an ignorance of their mother tongue, with treachery to their native country, their political blasphemy will be less a prejudice to the *STATE*, than their graphical errors, a misfortune to their Readers, if they happen to have any.

From the third assertion made, for the Whig Club, but not by the Whig Club, (*viz. That you approve the principles of Mr. Fox, and his associates, because they are your own*) is drawn a number of inconclusive deductions, and upon it are built many attempts, at arguments, which cannot be more truly described than in the very words of the pamphlet. For once I will borrow from it, and call them *a combination of unfounded assertion, and false inference, of wicked misrepresentation and wretched logic.*

In travelling through their pamphlet, from the samples furnished by the three or four first pages, I expected to meet an abundance of absurdity in every perch of my road; but in this part I met, and was shocked at meeting, something, very little, if at all short, of high treason. Whither an exhortation in print, to the most illustrious of the Nobility, and to the most eminent and popular of the Gentry of Ireland, *to beat the alarm, to sound the trumpet, and summon the Volunteers of Ireland to the standard of resistance*, be high treason or not, or a simple misdemeanor only, I leave to the better consideration, and judgment of his Majesty's Attorney and Solicitor General. If such an act be punishable in a legal manner, I have no doubt, (you smile, Sir,) I say, I have little doubt, these gentlemen will do their duty. Compassion for drunkenness, or their pity of phrenzy, may perhaps avert, or suspend the infliction of exemplary punishment. Whither the law officers of the crown will, or will, not notice and prosecute this offence; I have done my part as a good Subject; I shew them where to find the words, and hint (for I cannot, for obvious reasons, speak out) how to discover the writers. The words, with others of high aggravation, are

to be found in the fourth page of a Letter, addressed to the Rt. Hon. Thomas Conolly, Sec. of the Whig Club, printed by Porter, No. 12, Skinner-row, and said, believed, and capable of being proved, to be written jointly by a Rt. Hon. Gentleman, a Privy Counsellor, high in the confidence of Administration, and two very *new*, yet, highly promoted, members of the present Parliament. The boldness of their expressions, is a proof, that their situation is sheltered by something, more powerfully protective, than innocence, and their frequent, and gross freedoms, with truth and common sense, convince me, that their respective educations, either in the camp, the courts, or the senate, have been wrought up to the highest degree of accomplishment, and are gentlemanly in the extreme.

To preach Sedition to a quiet, and recommend rebellion to a loyal people, is a new thing in the *Servants* of the Crown, and is curious for its novelty. Such men in office, are admirably fitted, to preserve unweakened, and uninjured, the delicate bond, which at present connects the two kingdoms. If they happen to escape legal prosecution, and punishment, and were in the cool possession of their faculties, when they wrote and published, I trust they will receive, in due time, proper acknowledgments from the countries which gave them birth, and from the Sovereign who entrusted them with power; and that both the King, and the kingdoms, will unite in devoting to disgrace, and marking with abhorrence, these incendiaries, the common enemies of both.

I cannot quit this subject, without remarking, that the virtue of moderation is unknown to a Faction, who can entertain, and reconcile
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frantic speculations of resistance, with an abject degree of practical servility, and talk in a more raised strain, than sober, and sensible patriots think warrantable ; and yet act with vigour in every dirty drudgery, and engage in the execution of every unprincipled, and profligate, plan, with the eager meanness of the most corrupt, and contemptible, courtier.

It is the glory of the Whig Club, to differ upon this point, as on every other, from the advocates of administration. Loyalty to their sovereign, is impressed no less strongly, on the front of their resolutions, that a true attachment to their country and its constitution. They distinguish well, and wisely, between the equity and beneficence of their royal master, and the corruption, the incapacity, and the iniquity of servants ; who, under the shelter of his sacred name, and by an abuse of his delegated authority, meditate designs, and attempt acts, hostile to the constitution of one, and adverse to the interests of both, kingdoms. To oppose and defeat these acts, upon rational grounds, and by constitutional means, without recurring, as courtiers advise, to the innocent and laudable expedient of rebellion ; To penetrate and disconcert those designs, by an unremitted vigilance in their post, and by a cautious observance of the enemy's motions, has been hitherto the part acted, and the character sustained, by the Whig Club ; the newly raised, but well disciplined centinels of our constitution. The arrogance of a haughty, the temerity of a rash, the corruption of a wicked minister, and of the faction, who promote his views, support his measures, and are infected with his vices, are kept in check by these out-posts of the constitutional army ; and therefore

therefore, the institution of the Whig Club has incurred, and deserves the sincere hatred, and the unclean calumnies, not only of him, who in another country pronounces the sentence of death, but of those in this, who fit the cord to the neck of our liberty. These vile betrayers of national honor, these abhorred executioners of our vital freedom; who meaner, and greedier, than the elder brother of the Patriarch, have sold, not only their own, but the birth rights of their brethren, for a mess of pottage, are naturally enough enflamed with resentment, against an association, which detects, and exposes their infamy; which a little obstructs, and a little disappoints, their honest avarice, and their patriotic ambition. In the desperacy of their cowardice, they become the valiant allies: in the exasperation of a frantic rage; they become the prudent advisers, of those they wish to destroy; and eagerly propose to us, to overthrow the state, for the security of freedom; to sprinkle, I presume for the sake of personal safety, the shrine of the constitution, with the blood of Citizens, and *oppose the designs of Mr. Pitt, not with Resolutions, but by Arms.*

I ought to apologize to you, Sir, for detaining you so long, on this pious exhortation to rebellion. Let us turn to what follows it in their pamphlet. Let me suppose what is not fact, that the preamble to your Resolutions expresses, what these ingenious gentlemen compel it to assert; will the assertions, according to their own statement, warrant the strange, the puerile absurdities; the crude inconclusive nonsense they have deduced from them.

Suppose

Suppose you do approve, and I believe you do, most heartily, Mr. Fox's political principles, does it follow, that his principles are the rule of your political faith? There is a standard in England, to which Mr. Fox refers his principles, and by which they may be measured; I mean the Articles of political belief, resolved by the Whig Club of England, to be the general rule of conduct, to all the Members of the Institution. The doctrine of this Club, is the foundation of his faith. The principles which he professes, and which we admire, are easily known, by a reference to their standard. Has the constitutional Orthodoxy, of this patriotic Creed, proclaimed by its Members, of whom Mr. Fox is one, to the Nation, and published to the World, been questioned and condemned, by any writer of any name, in any Country of the Earth? Had your puny Assailants impeached the purity of this Creed, had they *pointed* out any error in it, inconsistent with the spirit, or the letter of the Constitution: Had they shewd it to be in any way repugnant to the reason, or incompatible with the rights, of any order of the Community; they might then, both with more safety, as well as with more decency, proceed to abuse the Irish Whig Club, for its conformity in principles to the English.

No, Sir, the Castle Pamphleteers strike into a new path. They affect to impute to us, principles we disclaim, and load us, with a responsibility for offences, we never individually, or collectively, committed; and alledged by themselves to be committed by another. Though we are neither answerable for the supposed crimes, nor entitled to the real glory of Mr. Fox's conduct, as a public man, let us

us examine the dark transgressions, charged upon him ; and we will find that those sins, are the shining merits of the illustrious character they glorify now, and will immortalize with posterity, so long, as the British Constitution shall have a name, and the Friends of Freedom watch over, and preserve its invaluable existence.

The loss of America is charged upon Mr. Fox. His bill for the regulation of the East India Company, is asserted to have been prepared with a view to establish party power, and to admit, as a principle, *that it is allowable to invade the most sacred Charters, to usurp an immense patronage, and to make a partition of the executive.* His COALITION with lord North, is considered as a high crime. So his denial of the right of external legislation in this country ;—and his assertion, that the Prince of Wales, upon the incapacity of the King, had a right to assume the Government. This string of offences, in strangling Mr. Fox's political reputation, is to perform another duty, and execute the constitutional character of all Irishmen in general, who put no trust in Castle Creeds ; and in particular, of that dangerous and obnoxious body, called the Whig Club.

The real authors of the American war, are now well known. Upon them, and upon them only, is the loss of America to be charged. It is also now well understood, and was at the time, more than surmized, that Lord North, whose talents were much superior, but whose influence was nothing, acted but a secondary part ; and condescended to carry into execution, what others, of much more humble abilities, thought proper to dictate. Without the dignity, of acting the principal part

part in this horrible tragedy, and being the chief, even in a scene of flagitious wickedness; his conduct, with regard to the war, was equally criminal; with respect to himself, was more meanly scandalous, than that of any of the Prime Movers, and Advisers. Notwithstanding his late coalition, as 'tis called, with another party, who dissuaded, oppos'd, and at last, extinguished this cruel, inhuman, sanguinary, impolitic, and unconstitutional war; Notwithstanding his merit in discontinuing a part, and deserting a party, which had deluged one quarter of the globe with blood, and brought the greatest Empire in the other, to the brink of deserved destruction; and notwithstanding the atonement, he has endeavoured, and is endeavouring, to make to mankind, and to his country, by a devotion of his interest, and talents to constitutional services, under the direction of the best and wisest men in Britain; yet, am not I, nor can you, Sir, be disposed to extenuate his guilt, or draw a veil over vices, that avert our eyes from human nature, with disgust and abhorrence. His name will be never uttered in America, without execration, or in England, with esteem. Even the grave, the refuge of the unfortunate, will be no asylum to him, from infamy. When ever HISTORY shall meditate a record, of this name, and a description of this character, she will place herself midway, between two quarters of the globe: Looking at Europe, she will see where its best limb was torn from the bleeding body of Britain: Turning her eye, to the Western Hemisphere, she will behold, with the anguish of a parent, in America, the monuments of Warren, and Montgomery; and
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if a drop of their sacred blood, shall remain upon the fields, where they fell, in this will she dip her pen, and with its colour, will she tinge the features of his character; the recital of his actions, and the repetition of his very name.

Far different from the chaste style, and impartial voice of history, are the pen, and the tone of those upper, or under-lings in party, or in office, who can utter, nay, write, and even print and publish, an universally known lye, without blushing at their baseness. To place, in the same ranks, and upon the same side, the Man, who distinguished himself at the head of the adverse Party; and, in every stage, and upon every occasion, from its commencement to its conclusion, fought against this opprobrious War, is a strain of assertion, not to be equalled in audacious intrepidity; and proves the assertor to be equally devoid of truth, and insensible to shame. Would any man suppose, that HE, who had uniformly, from its commencement, to its conclusion, opposed the American war; who had suggested, and supported, moderate and healing measures; who abroad, with incredible labour, and with untired, and perpetually exerted efforts, and in the House, with an energetic, irresistible, and almost divine eloquence, struggled against the injustice, the inexpediency, the imprudence of the contest, who had repeatedly demonstrated, to the national Representatives, and to the Nation, the ruin that would follow, to the English constitution, even if Britain had succeeded; and the equally certain, and irreparable loss of strength, of revenue, and territory, if she failed: I repeat,

peat, Sir, would any one suppose, that such a man, acting such a part so long, so consistently, so gloriously, could be accused by any, but a fool, or a madman, of being a sharer with Lord North, either in the cause of the war, or the consequent calamities. The falsehood is so apparently a falsehood, and so universally known to be untrue, that I almost despise myself for not having scorned to take notice of it. How could he defraud the real Authors of our common national Calamities—the real contrivers of the dismemberment of the Empire—the real blood-bolter'd Conspirators against the Rights of Mankind—why cheat them of their moiety of that glory, to which they have, all their joint, and most just claims, and confer it on Mr. Fox, who has not, and pretends not, a title to any share in this heritage of Tories.

But, why are the noble personages, who really concurred, and co-operated with Lord North, I will not say advised, and directed him, at that period, robbed of their portion of praise? Why is the full half of that honor, to which they have so much a better claim, transferred, without any shadow of right, to Mr. Fox? Where are the THURLOES, the JENKINSONS, the GERMAINES, the HILLSBOROUGHs, of that auspicious æra, of our national justice, of our political renown, and of our martial glory? Why do not these modest, and meritorious characters, come forward, and receive from the eloquent advocates of an honest party, the just meed, of well-earned applause. Alas! the foldier and the statesman is dead in Germaine. He, who would not advance in Germany, and must retreat from America, is no more. Peace, (for he loved

it) to his Manes. The reputations of the rest have been long since defunct, have been interred with the body of Polonius, under the back stairs of the Palace, and you may nose them in the lobby. Their carcasses still occupy the court; and their spirit, once so fatal to the union of the Empire, and now so hostile and menacing to the concord of its remaining parts, breathes through a factious Administration, formed under their auspices, and headed by a Pupil of their instruction. Let Ireland beware. Let England look to her Ministers. The single name of Pitt, is too slight a screen, to shut from our eyes, the names of the other right, trusty, and well-beloved Cousins and Counsellors; whose voice, in the Cabinet, is stronger, and whose secret influence, is more potent, than the nominal prime Ministers; and whilst we see them round the Council Table, and near the ear of Majesty, the extremities of the Empire, remember America, and tremble for Ireland!

In the second edition, of this masterly performance, I dare to say, that the Rt. Hon. and Hon. Authors, will scarcely repeat so foolish a falsehood, and charge the loss of America, on Mr. Fox, or his Associates, the Whigs of England or Ireland. Another assertion, equally untrue and ungrounded, will also, I think, disappear; viz. *That they, (Mr. Fox and Lord North) forget, and console their sorrows, for the mighty loss of America, in the speculative partition of India; and project a compensation for the diminution of the Empire, by the robbery of the Prerogative.*

In order to shew, how very destitute of truth this charge is, and, in order to give a
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little information, to those very gentlemen, who write upon subjects, they appear not to understand; it may be necessary to state shortly and truly, the respective conducts of Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt, with regard to the regulation of the East; and you and they, if they please, will judge upon the comparison, which was more, for the honor and advantage of the Empire, and which, more agreeable to the principles and safety of the Constitution.

If we are to credit, all parties in England, the disorders of India, had risen to an alarming height. Regulation was loudly called for, by the universal voice of the nation, to check chartered murders, and restrain chartered rapine. Russians, red with the blood, and rich with the plunder, of a meek, and unoffensive people, had returned in crowds, and in triumph to England, imported amongst a nation, not wholly degenerated, their crimes, their vices, and their wealth; and exhibited a spectacle, which filled with disgust and horror, those Englishmen, who had not yet lost all sense of British dignity, and retained some respect for the virtues of their forefathers. To put a stop to enormities in the East, which exceeded the limits of all known, and abhorred excesses in any other quarter of the globe, to protect, in this once populous and extensive country, the remnant of the human race, which had survived the multitudes, who had sunk under the merciless exactions, or the sanguinary cruelty of the Company's servants; it became necessary, as well for the safety of the State, as the credit of the Nation, to strip the Company, not so much of their rights, as of their power, to abuse what they called their

rights, to the disgrace of the British name, and of human nature, and to the ruin of the richest, remaining branch of the Commerce and Revenue of the Empire. It is absurd to call inhumanity, a right; injustice, a right; or, cruelty, the right of any man, or any body of men: It is impious, to call such rights sacred.

However sacred as they were, Mr. Fox thought the interference of the Legislature, necessary for their regulation, and Mr. Pitt adopting his Idea in part, and pilfering at least, the outline of his plan, laid the axe to the very root of those chartered rights.

All informed men, of all parties, Whig and Tory, and all men tinctured with humanity, or justice, of all descriptions, concurred in thinking the existence of those sacred chartered rights incompatible with the safety of the state; and their annihilation of essential necessity to the prosperity of the community. This I infer, as well from the bill, proposed by Mr. Fox, and rejected, as from the bill, proposed by Mr. Pitt, and passed. By both bills, a certain patronage, and certain powers, were to be taken out of the hands of the East India Company, and vested elsewhere. In the violation, as 'tis called, of the Chartered Rights, both bills agreed. But, in whose hands were that patronage, and those powers to be lodged, with most emolument to the State, with least danger of abuse Abroad, and with most safety to the Constitution at home, was the question, upon which the two Parties, and their Leaders, differed, and generated the material, and I would be warranted to say, the only real difference between the two systems.

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If it was referred, to cool reason, and impartial justice, to decide upon this question, one would think, it could not admit of a long examination, or of much difficult research, to discover, to whom this patronage belonged; and decree, in whose hands, so great, so momentous a pledge, of national prosperity, should be deposited.

It was Mr. Fox's idea, that, as it belonged to the Nation, it should be placed in trustees, chosen by the nation, examinable at all times by, and responsible to the National Assembly, for their conduct, in the discharge of a trust, and the exercise of an office, so arduous and important. Commissioners were named, to whom envy could scarcely except; men of the highest rank, of the most affluent fortunes, of matured experience, and of unblemished integrity; selected with a severe attention to these qualifications, from both Houses of Parliament. I will mention one of them. The Earl of Fitz-William, the heir of the Marquis of Rockingham's immense estates, and the true representative of his illustrious virtues, public and private, was to be at the head of this Board.

From an establishment, so constituted, it was scarcely possible for the most sharp, and prying jealousy to extract food for its suspicion, or malignity itself, to collect a single material for censure. If abuse ensued, Parliamentary Enquiry was ready to detect, and Parliamentary Power prepared to punish. If probable, that the wisest men in the Empire could grossly mistake their duty; if possible, that the most exalted characters in the nation, exalted, not by their rank and fortune only, but (a more noble and divine pre-eminence) by
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their talents, and their virtues; if such men could stoop, to a dirty, and despicable delinquency, the Parliament was at hand to retrieve their errors, or to seize upon their honors, their fortunes, and their fame, as the forfeits of their dishonesty.

This mode of regulating a national property, by Parliament, and of confiding a national trust, to trustees, of the nations election, is called a robbery of the Prerogative. Could the Crown be robbed of what it never before possessed, or the prerogative of the Sovereign be defrauded of what it never before, or since enjoyed, in that right? The King, afterwards, accepted the power and patronage of India, at the hands, and as the gift of the Legislature, and possesses, and exercises these immense powers, and this opulent patronage, in virtue of an Act of the British Parliament, and not in any right, real, or pretended, of his Royal Prerogative. Writers, who, in their closet, affect to correct errors, and instruct mankind from the Press, ought to have some little powers of discrimination; and, if but a few, yet a few fixed, and founded ideas on their subject, and ought not, I conceive, hazard, even for the sake of a beautiful rotundity of period, assertions, in which the immorality of a gross untruth contends with the indecency of offensive expression.

A regulation of what belonged jointly, to the three Estates of the Kingdom, and not to any one of them exclusively, by the joint consent, and Act of the three Estates, can scarcely be called a robbery of any one of these Estates. Or, if the froth of declamation, exasperated into the flaver of madness, will

will call it a robbery, and Mr. Fox, the robber; let Earl Fitz-William, take his post, at the head of this gang of robbers, let the other Commissioners range behind him, as a sort of State Pick-pockets; and let the whole Legislature of England, the Lords, and Commons, in passing, and the King's most excellent Majesty, in assenting, to the instrument of regulation, be included, as accomplices in the robbery.

Are these unfortunate, tho' flippant assertors, aware, that if Mr. Fox's intended bill, can be called an intended robbery, Mr. Pitt's, India statute, may, with equal justice be named, an actual robbery, of the Prerogative. Mr. Pitt took from Prerogative, and gave to the Legislature, and the Legislature, reconveyed, not to the Prerogative, but to the King. Mr. Pitt then robbed Prerogative, and bestowed the fruits of his robbery, on the Parliament. This is the doctrine, of those dunces in Literature, and bunglers in Politics, who write for him and his Faction. I do not, nor will you, Sir, wonder, that one of these, a meddling, officious fellow, of an invincible forehead, tho' weakly fortified, behind; a great reader, tho' a mean writer; strong in voice, tho' feeble in intellect; a willing, thorough servant, tho' not fit for all work; a sort of strutting, cross gartered Malvolio, who *soon* intends to ravish the mistress, he *so lately served*; and, to be proud, imperious, and political, amongst her servants, his late equals, was treated, by the present Mr. Pitt, with the most signal, and mortifying contempt; and this, in despite of the credentials which he carried over from our late sagacious, chief Governor,

Governor, to the prime Minister, and in derogation of the kind of ambassadorial Title, with which this *contemptible understrapper*, was honoured. The Minister, received the dispatches, from another hand. Nothing more strongly marks both his knowledge of mankind, and, his contempt for the Irish nation, than this single transaction. The stripling Minister, would not suffer, this creature, into his presence, tho' he suffers it to shine, in one of the best posts; and thinks it qualified, to act, in one of the highest departments, of the Administration of this Kingdom.

I beg pardon for this digression, allow me a very few words more, on the comparative merits of Mr. Fox, and Mr. Pitt, with regard to their respective plans of regulation, for the East.

Had Mr. Fox's idea been carried into effect, the stains, which had deeply sullied the British name, in India, might have been wiped out. The speculation of base, and bold, adventurers, as rapacious, as insatiable, would have been check'd, and disorders, which called for severe, and caustic applications, remedied, with every desirable, and necessary benefit, to an oppressed, and exhausted State, and with no detriment to an, at that period, improving Constitution. Unhappily, for the glory of the British character; unfortunately, for the encrease and permanence of British opulence; and more inauspiciously still, for the British constitution, the prayers of the oppressed Orientals, were not heard, and this noble, and beneficent design, was defeated, by that *secret influence*, which gave freedom to America, but lost America to England.

Mr. Fox,

INCREASED, WAS ENCREASING, AND OUGHT TO BE DIMINISHED."—Antecedently to the accession of Eastern Patronage, the Royal Power was a Briareus, with an hundred hands.—The prudent bounty of Mr. Pitt, and his complaisant Faction, gives the Monster an hundred more. In contradiction of the resolution of the popular branch of the Legislature; in contempt of the sense of the Nation, expressed by it, Mr. Pitt, adds enormity to excess, and makes, a not sufficiently limited power, boundless, and unlimited, by any thing but the moderation of the Monarch. English spirit, tho' subsiding fast into slavery, and exhibiting mortal symptoms of its decay, in its toleration of such a Minister, and in its submission to such a measure, will live long enough to shed tears of bitterness, and of blood, over the prodigal concessions of this rash, young, Statesman; and the posterity of Englishmen, perhaps in chains, will lament, with indignant, but unavailing anguish, that their forefathers, at the critical moment, had not better seconded the enlightened wisdom, and more effectually supported the bold magnanimity of their Man, *the Man of the People*; and thereby enabled him to check the rapid encroachments of the Crown, and place a strong and insurmountable barrier, before the liberties of the People.

It is scarcely worthy of remark, that the wisdom which shone in appointing its India Officers, by the Crown, did not much exceed the integrity of the Minister, in wresting the appointment, out of the hands of the Nation. With what discretion, with what decency, with what regard to the rank, characters, fortunes, talents, and probable honor, of the persons chosen,

chosen, his Majesty was advised to make such an election, for the Administration of India, as he made, let the public judge, when they see, at the head of this Board, in the place of the Earl of Fitz-William, and of the National Commissioners, a needy Scotchman, *one Dundas*, and under him, others, even more obscure, equally indigent, appetent, and irresponsibile. Mr. Pitt's triumph over the British Constitution, was not complete, till he added this last insult, to the feelings of the British Nation.

The Coalition of Mr. Fox, with Lord North, is the next charge, against the Irish Whig Club; for you are involved, without your knowledge, in the principle of the Coalition, and are to share the scandal and ignominy, with Mr. Fox, of this scandalous and ignominious measure. Be it so; if these liberal gentlemen, will have it so, who make us parties, before we had existence, and deny us any knowledge of our participation, until they were pleased to open our eyes, and give us the salutary information.

I comprehend these writers clearly. The Court is to be the only honourable Asylum of Deferters, from party or principle, of any kind. There, and there only, Virtue, repenting of being virtuous, reforming itself into Vice, and abjuring the pernicious principles of Love, to one's Country, of attachment to the Constitution, and other like Prejudices, is to be received with open arms, caressed, with as much ardor, as the coolness of competition, amongst Candidates, for the same prizes will admit, and encouraged, with as much sincerity, as is usual in this region of un sullied innocence, and primitive simplicity. The grand

political brothel is open, both to the willing prostitution of obtrusive impurity, and the more coy, and valuable, as reluctant yieldlings, of a slowly undermin'd modesty. But if sickened with disgust, and resolved to regain a situation of comparative respectability, in society, a single wretch, escapes from this den of iniquity, the Hue and Cry of the whole Sisterhood is raised, the unhappy fugitive is pursued, with clamour, and with acrimony. And no house with safety, to its own good name, or the peace of its inhabitants, can dare to encourage the return of this Outcast to Virtue, or to harbour the unhappy Being, who abandons the abandoned. This is the charity of Courtiers.

To quit Figure and return to Fact, until Lord North thought proper to vote on the same side with Mr. Fox, in Parliament, every measure of his ended with disgrace to himself, and in loss and dishonour to his country. Mr. Fox, was not competent, to prevent any Member of the Legislature, from voting as the Member pleased. And if Lord North, sensible of the misfortunes, his opposition to the Constitutional Leaders, had created to the Country, was resolved in future to adopt their principles, and support their measures, could they have denied him the privilege of an English Commoner, and compelled him into the service of Corruption, when he wished to join the party of the Constitution? or, forced him to strengthen the hands of a Faction, whose power had been the calamity of Britain?

But, if Mr. Fox, had the optional direction of the vote of this unfortunate Minister, ought he, as an honest man, to turn it against
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the interests of his Country. If the delicacy of a corrupt Faction, would not have disdained to abuse Lord North's Parliamentary interest, to *bad*, why should Mr. Fox scorn to use, and apply it to *good* purposes.

To escape the brand, with which this word Coalition, stigmatizes the Whig Party, two things were necessary to be done by Mr. Fox, the one, (as I have shewed) a Parliamentary impossibility, the other, (as I think I have proved) a National Injustice.

The terryfying sound of an enormous polysyllable, threw our wise, and valiant Brethren, at the other side of the water, into a temporary hystERIC, and bereaved them of their senses, at the very time, a little sober and firm discretion was most necessary for them; but here in this (tho' the) Land of intellectual poverty and blunder; a single word, however long, and however formidable, does not comprize in it a chain of Reasoning, nor preclude Enquiry, nor anticipate Conclusion, except at that Seminary of sound Logics and Ethics, the Castle. In general amongst us COALITION alone, tho' a well sounding word, is not considered a very complete, or ingenious argument; nor does it take at once the confidence of the people, from the assertors of their Constitution.

To cover Mr. Fox, with the censure of merited culpability, in permitting what he could not prevent, if he was so disposed; this conversion of Lord North, or even, of Lord Thurlow, or of Lord Hillsborough, or any other Tory Delinquent to the principles of the Whigs, or suffering them, or any of them, to support a Whig Administration; I think it would be necessary to shew, that the change of sentiment in the Tory, for the better, produced
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an alteration in the Whig Leader, for the worse. Did the principles which the profelyte renounced, infect the purity of the faith, to which he was converted ? if not, why are those who had the honor of reclaiming so hardened a sinner, censured ? The India bill was to be sure cited ; but will never again, I think be relied on, in any future invective against the party of the Constitution. Is there any other instance ?—None.

Gracious Heaven, Sir, with what deeper iniquities than virtuous Men can think possible ; with principles, how much more pernicious ; with views and projects, how much more criminal and horrible, must that execrable Faction be polluted, with which even Lord North could refuse to associate, and from which even such a Man, and such a Minister, was obliged to withdraw, at the close of an illspent life, the remnant of an expiring reputation. If private honor did not tie his tongue, to keep undivulged the Secrets of that dark Prison House, from the gloom and grossness, of which he has escaped at length into a brighter, and purer Region, how might he not retaliate upon those, who charge his only act of virtue on him as his crime, and are only angry that he is not, like themselves, *uniformly vile*, and that he does not wind up together, the clue of their common enormities, and the thread of his own existence, upon the same bottom ?

Let us pass to the principle, said to be asserted by Mr. Fox, and in consequence (according to a new mode of arguing) by the Irish Whig Club ; that the Prince of Wales, upon the incapacity of the King, had a right to assume the Government, without the concurrence of the two Houses of Convention.

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This is easily answered, by the two parties upon whom it is charged. Mr. Fox formally disclaimed this imputed principle. If it be imputed to the Irish Whigs, their conduct on the Regency question, in which they took the lead, gives it the lye more fully, than any language could ; it gives it the lye practically.

They, I mean Mr. Fox, and his party in England, and the Whigs of Ireland, admitted the preferable claim of the eldest son ; qualified, as he was acknowledged to be, for government, to the office of his father. They did not speak the nonsensical, disrespectful jargon, or defend the untenable, and preposterous position of the young Phaeton of Britain, and his ambitious Faction ; namely, that he himself, Mr. Pitt, or the Coachman who drove him, or the Footman who stood behind his, Mr. Pitt's Chariot, were of right, as eligible to the Regency, in an hereditary Monarchy, as the Heir Apparent of the Realm. If this insolent principle of an unblushing Boy, had been pushed into practice by a bribed majority of a self-called Convention, I make no doubt that the People of England, would have vindicated their own, and the rights of Royalty ; and convinced the Minister, and his Faction, that their Convention had presumed to sit, without any regular authority from the Crown, and without any previous election of the People. Although the right of the Prince of Wales, to assume the Regency, without election, may be questionable ; the right of that Convention to elect him, is full as disputable. For my part, I see no warrant under the seal of the Constitution, to authorize any act of theirs. The consent of the Nation, to their measures, may afterwards sanctify their measures

measures ; the equity of their conduct may excuse the assumption of a title : and the necessity of an immediate interference, justify their usurpation of a power, which, it would be difficult to prove, did belong to them of *right, or under the Constitution*. The proceedings of the Conventions in either Kingdoms, are, I think, defensible only on these grounds. The Irish Convention acted so, as to entitle itself to all these sanctions.

But, Sir, whatever difference of Opinion may be entertained, upon speculative Points, all mankind must admit, that neither the Whigs of England, or Ireland, were, at that memorable period, guilty of any practical baseness. No inordinate ambition prompted their appetite for power, to prey upon the executive, in the hour of its weakness, and tear from it, those Prerogatives, which are vested in it, by the Constitution ; some of them, at all times assential, but then more than ever necessary, to the exercise of Government. The calamity of the Royal Father, did not suggest to them the propriety of plundering the Son, nor did the depression of the Royal Son, bowed down by sorrow, for a suffering parent, inspire the decency of exalting all or any of themselves, even the meanest, to the level of their future Sovereign. That trying hour touched, and proved the Whigs ; distinguished them, as the true friends of the Constitution, in all its branches ; and discriminated their views, their principles, and their conduct from the unfeeling Insolence, and flagitious Ambition of the Youth, and those of a Faction who govern, or are governed by him ; a Youth who in his fall from power, resolved to decorate his descent

scient with the spoils of the Crown, and fortify his opposition with the plunder of the Prerogative. Let those ardent admirers of the cool Mr. Pitt ; who charge, but falsely, as I have shewed, charge his great Adversary with an intended partition of the executive ; look back to this period, and if their cheeks can change their milky whiteness, let them blush at the baseness of their praise, and the folly of their accusation.

What the part was, and what the principle, upon which Mr. Fox acted, some ten or twenty years ago, in the splendid Drama of the Middlesex Election—whether he approved the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes, or the Election of Colonel Luttrell, I know not. Mr. Fox did, in the early part of his life, and for a short time, act with men, whose actions since have been the calamities, and whose names will for ever be the disgraces, of their country. When he renounced the Faction, he rejected their principles ; and amongst the rest, the principle of the Middlesex Election, which I admit, for the satisfaction of Castle Patriotism, to be an unjust, an unconstitutional, and an irrational principle in the extreme. It is in every point of view indefensible. It is more, it is execrable. But to whom does it belong ? To the Faction Mr. Fox quitted, and amongst whom, he left it, and with whom it remains to this hour. When he embraced the Party of the Constitution, when he adopted the principles of the Whigs, he found no *such principle* amongst them ; and his abjuration of such a principle was, previously necessary to his admission, into the large share he afterwards sustained, and the high place he has since held in their business and bosoms. *Tories* acted

upon this principle, and defended this principle. WHIGS never acted upon it, always opposed it, and year after year endeavoured to erase, the infamous determination founded on it, from the journals of Parliament. And yet it is a Whig Principle. Why? Because Mr. Fox, who must disclaim it, *or he is no Whig*, once acted upon, and afterwards abjured it. Is this reasoning? yes Sir. *This is Castle Logic.*

For the honor of human nature I am concerned that any Creature, or Creatures, pretending to be Men, and claiming to rank with rational, and noble Beings, can be found so blind, or so base, as not to see absurdity so prominently apparent, or seeing to impose upon the world, the flimsy fabrications of evident imposture, as founded reasoning, and irresistible conclusion; and themselves as Sages, well qualified, to instruct the wisest, and reform the most virtuous, of mankind. From the muddy fountain, of their disturbed intellects, our Grattans, and our Currans, are to sip the inspirations of political wisdom, and from the galls of their malignant hearts, my Lord Charlemont, and you, and your beneficent Associates, are to imbibe softer sentiments of benignity to human Beings, and stronger motives of attachment, to the dignity, and interest, of your native country. Sorry wretches. I pity them. I do indeed, Sir. They despise themselves.

Having accompanied their flight, to another Region, and at a quarry, of a strength and size, too great to be mastered and brought down by Birds of their wing; let me attend them back in their ill-omened return to Ireland. If they have miscarried, in their attack, upon one of the best, and brightest, Characters

ters in Britain, a Man, in whose understanding there is a masculine magnitude, which little minds in vain attempt to measure, and strive to comprehend, and in whose Soul, a dignity of virtue, which sordid dispositions shrink from, even an endeavour to emulate: How much more miserably have they failed, in vindicating from absurdity the reasonings, of the first Character in the Land, as they are pleased to term the late Attorney General, and justifying from merited reproach, all the measures, of our late estimable Viceroy, the Marquis of Buckingham. These latter tasks required many, and masterly, hands. How has the work been executed?

The vindication of the late Viceroy, and of his great Parliamentary Advocate, is preceded (as it ought to be) by an admirable *general Principle* of combining good Government, not only with the securest establishment of constitutional right, but with further, and bolder extensions of our freedom. It is a very simple Principle, and if we commit the Constitution to Castle Doctors, very salutary. It is this. "THAT GOVERNMENT IS MOST FAVORABLE TO LIBERTY, WHICH MAKES THE KING A BEGGAR, AND THE STATE A BANKRUPT." It follows as a Carollary to this Proposition, that those Ministers, as they are the very best benefactors of the Community, ought least to be opposed, and most applauded, whose double stomached varacity swallows down, and devours, both royal, and national Revenue, and leaves neither a Guinea in the Exchequer, of the State, nor a Shilling in the purse of the Sovereign.

It is not wonderful, Sir, that we are a great and happy Nation; when some of the *Servants*
of

of the Crown are so wise, and patriotic. I repeat their language: I state their principle. To improve Monarchy, beggar the King: to enrich Liberty, exhaust the State: cut its sinews across, to give an encreased agility to its limbs, and draw all its life-blood from its veins, to add vigour to its Constitution. Rob me the Exchequer, Hal. and do it with unwashed hands. What an excellent, what an honest, what a patriotic, Prime Minister, would the Hero of East Cheap have been, if Henry the 4th had displaced his Prime Minister, appointed the feeder of his Sons Riots, and the fleecer of his Baconfed Subjects, the Chancellor of his Exchequer, First Lord of his Treasury, and Keeper of his Privy Purse, and made unprincipled PRODIGALITY, the œconomist of CONSTITUTIONAL IMPROVEMENT?

Those faithful servants of a Master, they would rob: those munificent Patrons of freedom in a state, they would plunder, but plunder upon virtuous principles, and for the best ends; direct our eyes to France, in 1789, and to Ireland in 1782, and shew us in the recent Revolutions of these Counties, a practical proof of the goodness of their principle, a shining illustration of the truth of their Theory.

Almost independantly, of the progress of true knowledge, which gradually opening the mind, to clearer perceptions of the rights of Human Beings, fortifies the heart with a bolder courage, to assert them: almost independantly of other subordinate, and of this great cause; which did not immediately produce, yet prepared the way for freedom, an accident gave birth to the liberty of France. Occupied in the culture, and improvement, of those frivolous
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Refinements, which exalted that Nation, to an high degree, of opprobrious distinction, amongst the people of the *old* World, and content, with the degrading pre-eminence, of being chief Milliner, Haberdasher, and Taylor, to most of the kingdoms of Europe : France never looked with a steady eye, at the noblest boast, and truest happiness of Man ; till some of her Sons saw, and engaged in the contest between despotism and freedom in the *new*. Till then the polished Leader of the fashions, thought it a sort of dishonour to be a follower of barbarous Liberty. Till then this Nation, delighted to gaze rather at the dazzling, but consuming glory of their Monarch, than at the mild and benignant splendor of a free Constitution. The homage they paid even to Heaven was less sincere, and less humble, than the abject adoration, which bent them down in servile prostration to the Throne, and placed their necks under the feet of an arbitrary Sovereign. It was in America that Frenchmen panted with the first aspirations, and glowed with the first animating heat, of genuine freedom. They saw, they comprehended, they admired, they assisted, the wise, and strenuous, efforts of the magnanimous founders of a new Empire, upon a basis of Liberty ; and having exercised their understandings, upon the great questions then depending, and having shed their blood in defence of the rights of strangers, they returned to their own country, fraught with the convictions, and with the courage, of patriotism. The chaste and sacred flame, kindled in America, treasured in the bosoms of a few Frenchmen, and transported across so many thousand leagues of the ocean, was not
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extinguished, or even chilled, by the waves of the Atlantic. It was imported by natives, and arrived in France, glowing ardent, unimpaired, undiminished. It encreased rapidly. It ran like Electric Fire, through the Community ; and whomever it touched, it stimulated. A shock so universal, threw to the ground, the proud pillars of imperial despotism in France, and made the most absolute Throne in Europe, tremble to its lowest foundations.

To this, as to a primary cause, are we to attribute the Revolution, in France. Secondary causes, no doubt concurred, in operating this great change, in the French Constitution. The principal secondary cause, I will state, because, the statement of it may be of some advantage to my country. *Superstition*, not the disinterest Friend, but, the well-subsidized ally of Tyranny ; tho' its oppressive, and useless, establishment were still supported, for its own sake, by the Crown, had gradually lost, all influence, over the mind of the Nation. The Crozier, that once awful object, of popular veneration, was broken to pieces, by the hands of Philosophy ; before Reformation could dare to touch, or hope to reduce the weight of the Sceptre. Released from the slavery of religious Bondage, the French, were better prepared, to receive, and entertain, the celestial GUEST, that deigned to visit them, from America.

But, how do men, who pretend to think, and presume to write, account for the Revolution, in France ? It was produced, *solely*, as they say, *by the exhausted state of the French Exchequer, and by the beggary of the French Monarch.*

If France, must of necessity, be free, when her State is a Bankrupt, and her King, a Beggar; Why was she a slave to the reign of Lewis the XIVth, and his Successor? Were her resources more abundant, were her finances better administered, in those periods, than at the present? Was Mr. LAW, the Scotchman, a better financier, than Mr. Neckar, the Swiss? Was a *Gazetted Bankrupt*, who had shut up her doors, against her Creditors, (for such France was under the management of the former) then more opulent, or better entitled to credit, the foundation of opulence, both public, and private, than under the prudent, æconomical, and wealth producing, administration of the latter? Poverty in the former, most disastrous æras, of National, and Royal Revenue, did not produce Freedom to France. There is no natural connection, no intimate union, no necessary alliance, between Indigence, and Liberty. The most beggarly Sovereigns in Europe, are the most absolute; the most impoverished States, are the most servile. On the contrary, the most opulent Empires, are the most *free*, in which freedom is to be found, the rich, and never failing source of wealth; and undistressed *Monarchs*, with hoarded millions, in their private coffers, submit to constitutional restriction, and are compelled to confirm their power, within the limit prescribed, by Law and Liberty.

What then becomes of the assertion, *That in order to secure and enlarge Liberty, the State must be a Bankrupt, and the King a Beggar?* It is a pity that this doctrine can neither be reconciled to private honor, or public virtue; nor proved by the French Revolution, or any other historical

torical fact, of any other country. Our emancipation, in 1782, was not effected either by the poverty of our Sovereign, whose private wealth, (*lately discovered*) exceeded at that period, all measure of conjecture; nor by the bankruptcy of the Nation, for no public Creditor, has ever yet had cause, to complain; nor has any Administration, at that, or any other period, ventured to assert, that we stinted or denied, the Supplies necessary for the support of Government. Is it a proof of National Bankruptcy, in 1782, that we, voluntarily, furnished an immense Sum, to the exigencies of the Empire, above the ordinary Supply; or of the exhaustion of our resources, that we for the same purposes, at the same period, raised twenty thousand men more, than our Establishment required, or than our Administration solicited, or expected: not to mention, that voluntary Valour had guarded Ireland, from invasion, and enabled the Government to detach *our* Mercenaries, to other Countries to the number of several thousands. Had the ingenious Composers of the Letter to the Secretary of the Whig Club, adverted to those circumstances, so notorious, and so recent, they would scarcely attempt, to discredit, the illustrious Assertors of our Constitution, in 1782, of whom the Club is principally composed; by affirming, that we owe the renovation of our Freedom, not to the spirit of patriotic Leaders, tempered with discretion, and directed with wisdom: not to the voice, of a brave, yet loyal, and temperate People, demanding its rights with decency, yet capable of enforcing its claims with firmness; but solely to a Bankruptcy of the Nation, which
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did not exist; and to a Beggary, of the (then and now richest) Monarch, in Europe.

Let those Cades and Tylers, *in* office, or *out*, whether from the Castle, and the Treasury, or from the Counter, and the Desk, who exhort us, from the press to Rebellion, as one means of Liberty; and suggest the distress and robbery of their gracious Master, and the State, as another: Let these seditious Scribblers beware, how they sit down again, to calumniate a Club, composed of the first Characters in the Land; or malign the maxims of an Institution, which, as well from its manifest utility, as from the known integrity, of its Members, entitles itself to, and enjoys public Confidence; and sets corrupt Artifice, and malignant Detraction, equally at defiance.

Let the servants of Majesty carry their doctrine into practice. Let them pillage the King, their Benefactor, upon a principle of Freedom: Let them plunder the State, upon an idea of patriotism; and boast, that in the ruin of their Sovereign, and in the robbery of the Nation, they are adding strength and stability to the foundations, and grace and ornament to the structure, of the Constitution. To be sure, if this doctrine could be established, upon any, even half-tenable ground, it would be of infinite convenience, to the present race of Courtiers. Their practices, even now, vindicate the principle, and the principle, in grateful return, would justify their practices. Their rapine would become a merit; their dishonesty, patriotism. A public Peculator, might then hold his head high, and claim from the Constitution, honourable acknowledgment, for Trust, infamously betrayed, and Wealth, basely accumulated; and from the

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Kingdom,

Kingdom, a STATUE, inscribed with inconsistent accuracy, and contradictory correctness. TO THE UPRIGHT, YET GROVELING, TO THE CORRUPT, YET HONEST, TO THE UNPRINCIPLED, YET APPLAUDED BETRAYER, OF HIS KING AND COUNTRY.

I find no such excellent principle, moral, or political, in the Resolutions of the Whig Club: nor do I see, that these Resolutions, recommend to any Man, to rob the Crown, for the sake of the People, and to rob the People, for the sake of themselves. Content with the Constitution we have acquired, and cautious only that our Rights, shall not be infringed, the Whig Club seems to proceed upon a maxim of plain, and unrefined, Equity: a maxim much revered by our Forefathers; but not, I am sorry to find, universally respected, by their Posterity; namely, to render to the King, the Things that are the King's; and to the People, the Rights that belong to them. The Whig Club does not wish to establish constitutional Freedom, either upon the beggary of the Crown, or, the bankruptcy of the State, or upon a Civil War. They look at America, without envy; and at France, without a wish to emulate her exertion, and grope through the subterraneous windings of Conspiracy, for the Palladium of a new Polity, or return with the Prize, through flames and Blood. A like unswayed by popular Clamour, unseduced by Corruption, and unawed by Power, they stand boldly forth to the People, and to the King, with their Resolutions in their hands; the loyal Supporters of the just Prerogatives of the Crown; the prudent, but determined, assertors, of the Constitutional Privileges of the

the Subjects. In their precautions against the encroachments of the Prerogative; they do not insinuate, much less avow, an intention, to pilfer from Royalty, its Splendor, or its Power, or its Affluence; nor in securing the sacred Rights of the People, do they intimate, much less assert, any design to excite Civil Commotion, or exasperate by the previous ruin of the State, the rage of national Resentment, against the Father of his People. They leave, *to two or three of his Majesty's Servants*, in this Kingdom, the glory of asserting as a principle; that the Beggary of the Crown, conduces to the enfranchisement of the People; that Rebellion against *distressed Royalty*, is the high road to something more perfect, than Constitutional Liberty.

We have hitherto digressed, Sir, after their digressions, and now return to the only Part of their Performance, which deserves a moment's serious consideration. This refers to:

The Constitution of Ireland, as settled in 1692.

The Revolution, in 1782.

The Right of Ireland, in 1789, to choose a Regent.

This Right, denied by a Pamphlet,—asserted by the Records of our Parliament, becomes a question. This controversy, which did already leave the *deniers of the Right*, in a very *small* Minority, both of the Parliament, and of the People, is renewed, and anonymous assertions, and the name of Lord Fitz-Gibbon, are opposed, with a becoming modesty, to the declared sense of the Legislature.

Unquestionably, Sir, the Parliament of Ireland, in 1692, did, but not upon the Principle of William III. and his Consort, having been *previously elected King and Queen of England, by the English Lords and Commons*, recognize them King and Queen of Ireland. No, Sir, it was upon Principles, which did honor to the good sense of a prudent, and the feeling sensibility of a generous, and grateful people. The services King William had rendered them, the treasure he had expended in their behalf, the perils he had encountered, and the good order, peace, and justice, he had restored, the intestine war he had quelled, and above all, his being the instrument of their delivery, from Popery, and arbitrary Power, are enumerated in the Preamble, and stated as the grounds of this Recognition. Nothing appears from this Statute to shew, that an election of a King, by the English nation, binds the choice of Ireland, but the very contrary appears from the Preamble, and from the enacting part of the Statute. *Accession* of their Majesties to the Crown of England, is part of the language of this Preamble, and a part worthy of remark. The same Law enacts, that William and Mary, *are, and of right ought, to be King and Queen, not of Ireland only, but of England, Scotland, and France*; as the Preamble had recited, that the Crown of Ireland was, and is of right, annexed to, and depending on the Crown of England.

Posterity ought to revere the legislative Acts of our Forefathers. My veneration for the Act of Recognition, in 1692, is great, but untinged with Superstition. I admire the Act, but I see something amiss in it. It pre-
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tends to legislate for England; without noticing, whether the accession of the King and Queen, happened in the usual course of succession; or by usurpation; or by the *election* of the two Houses of the English Legislature; or by the consent of the whole English Nation: OUR LAW, very unceremoniously enacts, that William and Mary, are of right, King and Queen of England. Is not this, Sir, the haughty stile of a Superior. We are not the Superior of the sister Kingdom, We are only her Equal.

The Recognition stands in the Statute, upon the double ground of rightful annexation of Crown to Crown, and of the convenience of Their Union in William III. and his Queen, not on the right of the two Houses in England, to elect a King of England, and in consequence, a King of Ireland. Such a right is not yet laid claim to by the two British Houses. And if Ireland had at the Revolution, stated in the act of Recognition, that their Majesties, instead of acceding, had been elected to the Crown of England, by an English Convention, our Legislature would have blundered indeed into a language, which would, as far as it could influence, or operate upon a more enlightened Posterity, have laid our legislative Independance, in this point, at the feet of the English Parliament. But had our Parliament used such a language, England then must have disapproved the principle implied by the term *election*, in our Act, as she did not in her own Act of Settlement, advance such a *principle*, or insist upon such a *right*; although from necessity, compelled to exercise the Power. The breach of the original Compact, between the King and People, by
James

James II. his endeavours to subvert the Constitution; his violation of fundamental Laws; and his having withdrawn himself out of the Kingdom, and abdicated the Government; are the grounds, upon which the English Constitution, in 1689, declared the Throne vacant, and William and Mary their Sovereigns. By the Act of Settlement, the monarchy was declared *hereditary*, not *elective*.

We are not to forget, that this Convention was not composed of the two Houses of Parliament only. I will give the words even of the *Tory historian, who describes it. "All the Members who had sat in the House of Commons, during any Parliament of Charles the Second, (the only Parliaments whose election was regarded as free) were invited to meet, and to them were added, the Mayor, Aldermen, and forty of the Common Council. This was regarded as the most proper Representatives of the People." The last elected Members of the House of Commons, as such, did not sit in Convention. The ordinary and usual Representatives of the Counties, chartered Cities; and Boroughs, as such, did not, on this great and extraordinary occasion, constitute the Representatives of the People of England, in the Lower House of Convention.

From this period of glory, and security to both Kingdoms, from these wise and patriotic acts of the generally national, and not usual Representative in each: inferences are drawn of danger and injustice to the King, and people of England: and deductions of disgrace and degradation to the King, and People of Ireland.

Mr. HUME.

First,

First, That under the British Constitution, the Lords and *Commons* of England possess'd an inherent right, which had been repeatedly exercised upon the malversation of the Monarch, to dethrone him, and alter the line of succession.

This proposition could scarcely admit of controversy, if the terms in which it was put were sufficiently exact. If by Lords and Commons, are intended the House of Lords, and House of Commons, as at present constituted, the proposition is unquestionable *false*, as I shall demonstrate: if by Commons is meant the PEOPLE, the proposition is indisputably true. The Rt. Hon. Pamphleteers have used, and applied the term in the former sense; and, in arguing this great question, I shall consider that sense, as their construction of *the Commons*, in contradistinction to *the People*.

Under the British Constitution, the Lords and Commons of England, have *no right*, upon any pretext, to dethrone the King, or alter the line of succession. Is any vestige of this right, to be seen in the Statute Law; in the Common Law; or on the Journals of Parliament.

The Common Law asserts, that the King can do no wrong, and is incapable of malversation. The Statute Law, surrounds his Throne with terrors; and the Penal forfeitures of Life, of Estate, of Honor, are stationed about Majesty, to guard the King, not only from actual, but intended violence. The Journals of Parliament, speak an uniformly dutiful, and respectful language, and have never yet presumed to utter a sentence, so full of Treason to the Sovereign; of Blasphemy against the Constitution; and of Insolence to the People

ple ; as " We, the two Houses, have an inherent right, upon the malversation of the King, to dethrone him, and alter the line of succession."

The assuming of such a right, by two branches of the Legislature, would be a gross usurpation on the real acknowledged rights of the third : the declaring of such a principle, a violent contradiction of Constitutional Doctrine. It is not to be told at this day, much less to be argued, that the three Estates, of which the British Legislature consists, are co-equal, co-ordinate, and independant of each other. What becomes of this independance, if two can judge, punish, and annihilate the third ? It is gone, and with it the Constitution. Two independant Estates, and one dependant Estate, form the monster, which the Constitution disclaims, abhors, flies from. Is it asserted as a principle, by the friends of Mr. Pitt, in this country, that the MAJESTY of the Crown, is a *slave*, and depends for its existence, on the good will and pleasure of the two Houses of Parliament. It is asserted in a *favourite* production. But the principle is too glaringly absurd, to be pernicious : too palpably ridiculous, to need refutation.

Though the two Houses in Parliament assembled, never yet declared, that they had a right to depose the King, and alter the line of succession ; yet, the Peers, and People, arrayed in the field, have resisted bad Kings, and driven them from the power they had abused, and the Thrones they had disgraced. The former principle, if ever, must be established in breach of the laws of the Land ; of all existing Laws, which limit, define, and describe the respective Powers, Privileges, and Prerogatives,

tives of the respective branches of the Legislature, and cannot be justified, or even palliated on any ground: the latter act of the Peers, and People, has been thought not only excusable, but laudable, and no infringement of a Law, higher than any of these; a Law paramount to the municipal Institutions of any State; *a Law written in the heart, of Man, by the finger of God*; the immutable, the eternal Law of Reason, and Justice; which proclaims, that a Tyrant may, and shall be deposed; and if equal mischiefs, are apprehended from his Posterity, that the line of Succession may, and shall be altered.

It was, by this Law, that James was expelled, and his Son excluded from the Thrones, and Kingdoms of Britain, and Ireland. The Peers, and Representatives of the People, such as I have mentioned, in Convention assembled, consecrated the Act of the Nation, and recognized the original Contract, between the King, and People, but did not recognize, or vest, any such principle, or power, of expelling, and electing Kings, in any future Houses of Lords and Commons. On the contrary, this Convention renounced the elective Principle altogether; declared the Monarchy Hereditary, and made their Constitution, not the Constitution of Poland, but of Britain.

This principle therefore equally derogating, from the dignity, and independence of the Crown, and detracting from the natural, and Constitutional rights of the People, must be rejected; but the hot and heavy Proposition, which asserts, it may stand, with all the preceding absurdities we have refuted, and exposed, and is not unworthy of such Society. No name, will preserve them from accompanying

companying Filmers, and other *fashionable courtly treatises*, to the shelves of the Curious ; and lying there amongst the other lumber, of exploded system, and forgotten Literature.

I hasten to the 2nd. Proposition ; namely,

That the King of England, under the Irish Constitution, is also by express Law, ipso facto, King of Ireland.

I protest, Sir, when Military Statesmen, who might be well excused, from writing any thing, but ill-spelled Billet-Doux, or Men employed in any Military department, or the unlearned Members, of learned Professions, take up the pen, jointly or severally, and engage in a political Controversy, I indulge very little, the peevishness of verbal criticism, and make every good-natured allowance, for the inaccuracy of their language. It is not very clear, that a King, *de jure*, or by express Law, is therefore, or as they better explain it, *ipso facto* King, *de facto*. However, though the phrase is not very correct, the meaning is not altogether unintelligible.

The two Propositions are, if after giving their words, I may venture to put them into mine.

1st. The Lords and Commons of England, may elect a King.

2nd. The King so elected, is King of Ireland.

The conclusion is, that the English two Houses of Legislature, may usurp on the Crown, and overturn the Constitution, and in doing this, are to be indulged with a deliberative capacity, and something more than imperial

imperial discretion; whereas, Ireland is by no means, when her great, nay, her greatest interest is concerned, to exercise her faculty of thinking, or power of acting; but implicitly adopt, and obediently follow the opinions and examples, of the two Houses in England. To this, they say, we are bound by our own Law.

The nature of our compact, and connection, with Britain, is little understood by strangers, who undertake, almost immediately on their arrival amongst us, to initiate the ignorant Natives of Ireland, in the mysteries of the Irish Constitution; and steal the name of a GREAT MAN, to sanctify the doctrines they teach, and support the principles they wish to propagate.

Our Crown is annexed, by an Act of our Legislature, to the English Crown. Who ever under the British Constitution, established in 1689, is King of England, is under the Irish Constitution, established soon after King also of Ireland. This is at present the sole visible bond of connection between the two Countries. With, or upon Britain as Country; with, or upon her Parliament, as a Legislature, we have neither connection or dependance. Who is the Sovereign of Britain, and who are to be his Successors, are known and pointed out to us by the Constitution of Britain. Her two Houses cannot change her Monarch, according to her Constitution, or after the line of Succession. If Britain was to change her form of Government into a Republic, our compact ceases, our connection with her is at an end. If her People and her Peers were in the phrenzy of public commotion, to expel the reigning Monarch, and exclude the line

of Brunswick from the Throne ; nay, if they were to recall the race of Stuart from exile, and place the Crown of Britain on the head of the Pretender ; still further, if they were to subvert the Constitution in Church, as well as State, declare the Pope head of the Church, and reinstate the Holy Father in all his ancient temporal and spiritual Possessions, is Ireland to renounce her reason, because England had lost her wit, and pursue the insane track of the Bedlamites of Britain, to the temples of tyranny and superstition ? Yes, say the patriotic Pamphleteers. Deny yourselves a deliberative capacity in your supreme earthly concern, and take whatever Britain is disposed to give. If we did, we would deserve the treatment of Lunatics, a prison, a little straw, and a strait waistcoat.

Our connection with Britain, our intercourse in time of peace, our mutual support and assistance in time of war, and all the happily experienced consequences of the fraternal amity, and federal concord, which subsist between us, are indeed valuable, and I prize their continuance highly. There is one thing, and only one thing more valuable to us,—our Freedom. This, as well as those hang by the same thread, if the British Legislature should happen, at any future period, to be unwise and unjust : but by a Chain of Adamant, if Britain perseveres in the virtue which disposed her to renounce her idle claims, and unfounded pretensions, to a supremacy over this Kingdom.

That she has not the shadow of a right under one express existing Law, the act of Recognition, in 1692, is, I think, evident from the penning of the Statute. Rightful annexation

nexation of Crown to Crown, is plainly opposed by the Irish Legislature, to the wrongful claim of the banished family; and not intended to lay, even by inference or implication, a foundation for depriving themselves of deliberative discretion, or legislative competence. Our Legislature exercised the one, and declared the other, in, and by the very Act, which it is pretended took both away; nay, went farther, and not only did legislate for Ireland, but pretended to legislate for England; and enacted, that William and Mary are, *and of right ought to be*, King and Queen of England. In this Ireland went too far. Ireland may, and ought to legislate for itself, but ought not for the other Kingdom, without her consent.

At the Revolution, Ireland asserted her deliberative capacity, in consulting upon the choice of a chief Magistrate: her competence to legislate for herself in this most important concern, by the Law, acknowledging William and Mary as her Sovereigns; and her gratitude and discretion, by a long enumeration of the causes which guided her consultations, and determined her preference of William and Mary, to James, or any other competitor: And noticing only their accession to the Crown of England, omits to mention, by what means the two Sovereigns had acceded. And yet, from this very silence of Ireland, is extracted the sentence of her slavery, a sentence supposed to be pronounced on herself, by herself, when she was dumb, as to the right of election in the two branches of the English Legislature, and when the constitutions of both Countries concurred, in condemning

demning the Principle. We may, upon every found rational Principle, legislate for ourselves, not for other Countries, and other Countries may legislate for themselves, not for us. No assertion can be weaker than this: by the Act of recognition, the Irish Legislature also recognized an inherent right, under the English Constitution, in the two English Houses, to depose and elect Kings; a right denied, disallowed, condemned by the English Constitution; and no argument is more feeble than this, that the Creature of an unconstitutional Power in Britain, is therefore under the Constitution of England, which it violates, and under the Irish Constitution, which it insults, *ipso facto*, King of Ireland.

The affected Panegyrists of the late Attorney General, the first (I presume *political* they mean) character in the land, load Mr. Fitz-Gibbons name with imputations it ought not to bear, and sully his fair fame, by charging on him, doctrines of the darkest hue, blacker than any which have yet shaded the complexion of this part of his character. I will be the advocate of his fair fame, against the most malevolent of all censures, the fulsome adulation of foolish flatterers.

The fair fame of this eminent Man, cannot stand very firmly upon the rotten ground of political demerit. Merits to the Constitution he had done. Political delinquencies innumerable. Why will his wretched Toad eaters, in an attack upon the Constitution, and its illustrious Defenders, drag in the name of Fitzgibbon, and compel us, to remember, his doctrines on Attachment—the Commercial Propositions

positions—the Regency. I omit to enumerate his more minute, and less marked offences against the Constitution; and am loath to mention, his unvaried opposition to every measure, tending to its security, or improvement. Such subjects as these, so justly condemned, and so recently executed, a pious and a delicate Friend would endeavour to withdraw from dissection; would silently deposit in the deepest graves, and cover with all the Earth he could collect, in the hope not of stopping the process of putrefaction, but of stifling the Perfume.

I will point out the true basis of his fair fame, upon which, he is *beginning* to build with spirit, and success, and it is my ardent, and *hitherto* well founded expectation, that his energetic exertions will not cease, until the structure be complete. It is upon judicial integrity, informed wisdom, and indefatigable activity in the discharge of his duty, in the most laborious, as well as the most exalted department of justice; that his glory (a glory little, if at all inferior, to that of a patriotic Statesman,) begins to rise, and to claim from his Country, *for the first time*, the tribute of their admiration, and gratitude. In the course of a few Months, he has performed the works of years. The first Court of Justice, was an Augean Stable, in which the infirmity, and incapacity of his slow-paced Predecessor, had suffered filth to accumulate upon filth; and the misery of indecision, to be heaped upon the iniquity of delay, so as to poison, a naturally wholesome air, and become pestilential to the Subjects of the Land. Within the short period, since his advancement to the Seals, the
present

present Chancellor, has effectually cleansed it. It was an Herculean task, and Lord Fitzgibbon, in accomplishing it, has redeemed this Country, from one scandal, under which it long suffered, of not being capable to furnish from the Irish Bar, a Lawyer qualified to enter into competition with the refuse of the English, whom they sent us, to sit on the highest seats of the Law, and injure, by their insufficiency, the justice of the country. Lord Fitzgibbon's endeavours, to destroy the balance, and sink the political consequence of his country, beneath the proud Scale of Britain, are the more inexcuseable, when the efforts of Lord Fitzgibbon, are raising her judicial character, to a coequality with the Chancery of England.

The name of Fitzgibbon, a misrepresentation of his arguments, and an other Act of Parliament (Yelverton's Act,) are drawn up against the 3d Resolution of the Whig Club, upon the ground of *EXPEDIENCY*, as the Act of Recognition, and the famous principle of a right inherent, in the two British Houses, to dethrone the King, were before opposed to it, on the ground of Right.

Lord Fitzgibbon admitted the right of Ireland. In point of Right, we were exactly on an equal footing with Britain. The imperial Constitution, a delicate, and complicated piece of machinery was disordered, the main spring upon which, two seperate, and of each other, independant Constitutions depended, was broken: its motions were stopped. To repair for each, what to each belonged, was the concern of each Kingdom; and not the joint, or common concern of Both. Upon the ground
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of right, we cannot pretend to interfere with the British Legislature, or direct it in any matter, which relates to Britain : nor can Britain interfere, of right in any matter which immediately concerns us, with our Legislature. It is so absurd to suppose, that our Constitution reposes the highest confidence in a foreign Legislature ; and commits the great concern of the country, a matter of such moment and magnitude, as the election of the substitute of our Supreme Executive, to the Legislation of Strangers ; when we deny them, a right of interfering, in things of the smallest respect, and of the very slightest importance ; when these strangers have renounced the right themselves, and when we, if they presumed to grant twenty Pounds of our money, for the building of a Bridge, or the repairs of a Barrack, would resist the exercise of this unconstitutional power, *even to the death* : that I must vindicate Lord Fitzgibbon, from the weakness, and wickedness, of contending against the *right* in Ireland, and for it in England. Though a bold, rather too bold, an Assertor in the Lower House, he had too much value for his head, to hazard it on such assertions.

No, Sir, his mode of combating the assertion of our National dignity, and Legislative independence, was more able, though not quite so absurd : more insidious, not so avowed : and better suited to his Talents, and more agreeable to the Character, he sustained at that period. He did not shew the dagger, whilst he was meditating the blow. He allowed the two Houses, a Legislative competence, to frame a bill, enacting, that the Prince of Wales, should be Regent of Ireland, this Bill was to be transmitted—but to whom—to his Majesty

of Ireland—where was he—the melancholy accounts, we received from another Contry, told us, how he was, but could not inform us where he was. His Majesty of Ireland, was incapable of the functions of Royalty. If Lord Chief Baron Yelverton's Act, was to operate, during an interval of time, in which we had no positive Constitution: in a case not foreseen, consequently not provided for: and for a purpose, which the honest, and patriotic framer, if he could have contemplated, would have abhorred; in what manner could it have operation, according to its Letter, or its Spirit? The Bill when it received the Royal Assent in England, and here, was to appoint a Substitute of Royalty, not yet appointed. But who was to give it the Royal Assent? The King then could not. Who could, and by what Authority?

Yes, Sir, this was THE QUESTION. Lord Fitzgibbon did not hesitate. He gave a very elaborate, but not a very plain Answer. The great Seal of England, was to give the Royal Assent to the Bill.

When a great Man happens to utter a moderate or qualified absurdity, he becomes contemptible in the eyes of simple Men; but if he strenuously asserts something extravagant, excessive, and incomprehensible, to any understanding, the authority of his name, imposes on the credulity of his Hearers; and something is supposed to be hid behind the mystery, which he can see, but which they cannot. Lord Fitzgibbon's knowledge, of human Nature, induced him to make a bold push on this principle, for Admiration and Followers. He succeeded, but not to the extent he hoped, nor in the degree he deserved. But a few, out of the

the many who heard him, believed. A few, however, but these very honest, and too dull to be otherwise, returned to their own homes, verily persuaded, and in their Consciences convinced, that what my Lord Thurlow imprisons, when he pleases, in an embroidered Bag, and carries about with him to St. James's, or Westminster Hall, was, *de jure*, and *de facto*, King of Ireland, and capable of assenting most Royalty, to the Bills of our Legislature. This King of Lord Fitzgibbon's creation, had a few natural infirmities, which attended his Majesty, before, and after, his accession to Royalty. He was dumb, till Lord Thurlow made him speak. He could never utter a sentence, till it was squeezed from him, by the surly Chancellor. He was deaf, till Lord Thurlow thought proper, to make him hear. Blind, unfeeling, and unconscious, without power of mind, capacity of knowledge, or possession of any of the five senses; but, as Lord Thurlow, his Keeper, thought proper to lend him a little for the occasion.

This Candidate for Royalty, was not well supported at the Election. It had but a very few Votes, in our Senate, and fewer still out of doors. He was deposed, by almost the universal consent of the Nation, though his title to Supremacy, and his qualifications for Government, are still confidently asserted, by some accomplished Gentlemen, who have not deserted him in his disgrace; nor has the Imperial Organ, even since his exile from Ireland, been inattentive to them. I can easily pardon, Lord Fitzgibbon's partiality at that time, to the mute object of his Loyalty. He had one great Seal in his eye, when he had the other on his lips.

The Irish, though a blundering Nation, imagined another objection might lie, to the Constitutional Competence of his Irish Majesty, (the English Great Seal,) and the ground was suggested, by his Advocate, Lord Fitzgibbon. He, I mean the Great Seal, ought to be, as he was excluded from the Throne of Ireland, upon revolutionary principles. For he was so abject a King, so poor spirited a Monarch, as (if the Irish had recognized his Title,) to intend to Assent to, but one single Act, and this Act, an Act for his own exclusion. The first exertion of his Royal Authority, was to be an abdication of his Government. The Irish anticipated, but by a very little, his Royal intentions, and saved him the necessity, and the mortification of consenting in form to his own dethronement.

The Whig Club pledge themselves to support the Restoration of 1782. They bind themselves to maintain Lord Chief Baron Yelverton's Act, but not its Misconstructions, or its Letter against its Spirit. If his Majesty thought proper to reside in Ireland, and assent in person, in our Parliament, to our Bills, the Whig Club would not think, nor I dare to say, would our two Houses feel, it necessary to transmit our Acts to his Majesty in Britain, where he was not; or send for the Great Seal of England to attest—to attest what—why, what they see, and what they hear, with their own eyes and their own ears, that the Act receives the Royal Assent from his Majesty in person. No man will be absurd enough to contend, that if his Majesty in person, gives the Royal Assent to an Irish Bill, in the Irish Parliament, this Act will not be, from the instant, the Law of the Land. Yet, the Letter
of

of Mr. Yelverton's Act is not adhered to. But, who will say, its Spirit is violated?

Under Mr. Yelverton's Act, all Bills must be transmitted to his Majesty, under the Irish, and returned under the English Great Seal. His Majesty is here. How are the Bills to be transmitted to him in England, and for what purpose, when he is in Ireland, and ready to assent in person. It is his undoubted Prerogative to do so, and where are the express words in Mr. Yelverton's Act to take it away? No Law can command the doing of an impossible thing, or can be construed so, as to effect an absurdity. *Lex neminem aduana seu impossibilia cogit*, is a legal maxim; it is a maxim of reason too.

Mr. Yelverton's Act was conceived in wisdom, and is worthy of the clear, and comprehensive mind of its Patriotic Framer. It has been construed, so as by possibility to make useless evidence necessary; so as to lop away from the King, his highest Prerogative, as the hospitable and loyal Penalty of his Majesty's visiting his Kingdom of Ireland; and so as to deny, that an Act passed by the King, Lords, and Commons, of Ireland, is the Law of the Land. The Authors of this Construction, rest upon it, almost the whole of their abuse of the Whig Club, and a principle which libels the Proceedings, and destroys the Independence of our Parliament, "namely, "that no Person whatsoever, can legislate for "Ireland, but the King, or Regent of Great "Britain."

For this attempt, to reduce us again to the yoke of Dependence, and bind us with a Fetter, not of the entire Legislature of Britain only, but to make us amenable, to the usurp-
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ed, unconstitutional Power, of a British Convention: Corruption attempts to snatch her trumpet from FAME, and blow the praises of *Lord Buckingham*, through our Kingdom. Pamphlets are written by Irish Courtiers, to applaud and justify the Enemy of Ireland. His conduct in all its parts, is defended. The principles of his Administration are tortured into maxims of Patriotism. To heighten the ridicule, a Speech of some length is composed for him, and he is made his own Advocate and Panegyrist. The Lucina of Eloquence, is called in to aid the delivery. He is made to pronounce, to an Irish Auditory, a long Oration, with unembarrassed ease, and unobstructed fluency; tho' all the art of the Obstetric Goddess, was never yet known to assist his real travail, or take away a single sentence from him, except in quarters. The moment of his departure, I will presume, chosen for this happy Address. It was a moment of good humour, and when he was most likely to be well heard. He ends. A plain Irishman rises in reply. Hear him.

“ You are now preparing to fly the Country. I hope, my Lord, for the credit of Irish generosity, that the spirit of a gallant Nation, will scorn, to molest your retreat. Conscious of the deepest guilt; secluded from all intercourse with Men; despised even by your Dependents, and detested by persons of all ranks and professions, you naturally feel the horrors of a doubtful escape, from an injured Kingdom: and look round you with affright, even to the usual supporters, of the System you wished to establish, for succour and protection. Calm, my Lord, you may indeed, the fears of a
 “ bosom,

" bosom, that never yet felt, the fortitude of
 " manly spirit: make an effort to raise the
 " dejection of an abject soul, sinking under
 " the awakened sense of its own delinquency:
 " compose the throbbings of an heart, trem-
 " blingly alive, to a very natural apprehen-
 " sion, that the rage of a provoked People,
 " may satiate itself, in some act of signal,
 " and exemplary vengeance. If I can pene-
 " trate the universal sentiment of this Coun-
 " try, your fears are vain. Your personal
 " character, my Lord, insures the safety of
 " the Viceroy: and I may venture, without
 " risking much, to assure you, that the lenity,
 " or contempt of the People, will suffer the
 " corrupt Oeconomist of their Revenue, the
 " fordid parsimonious Peculator of their Free-
 " dom, to depart in peace from amongst them.
 " Our very Mobs will disdain to insult the
 " flight of a gentleman, who calculates the
 " chances of Peril with your Lordship's ex-
 " treme accuracy; and whose courage, of the
 " true Parthian kind, has never been known,
 " to turn its face to an Enemy.

" In your flight from a Government you
 " can no longer hold; in your escape from a
 " Kingdom, in which you can neither hope
 " for, respect to your Character, and scarcely
 " for safety to your Person: it must be some
 " consolation to a mind like your's, it must
 " throw a cheering ray of comfort, across the
 " gloom of your present rage and disappoint-
 " ment, that you have anticipated on the
 " People of Ireland, by every insult to the
 " dignity of the Nation, by every injury to
 " their Laws, their Revenue, and their Con-
 " stitution; their present contempt of your
 " capacity, their present detestation of your
 " principles,

“ principles and conduct, public and private.
 “ Look back before you leave us; see with
 “ that sort of satisfaction your mind is capa-
 “ ble of enjoying, that the national benefits
 “ which follow at the heels of your short Ad-
 “ ministration, are almost as numerous as the
 “ blessings which pursue the footsteps of your
 “ departure. In the Military and Civil De-
 “ partments, in our Courts, and in our Camps,
 “ we behold the Monuments of your Wis-
 “ dom, and the Trophies of your benign-
 “ nity.

“ No Soldier fights over the memory of your
 “ amiable *PREDECESSOR, or recollects, with
 “ a tear, the extensive humanity, the almost
 “ prodigal beneficence of that beloved Noble-
 “ man. Even the stale splendor of their long
 “ lamented, and not yet forgotten Favourites,
 “ fades away, before the brighter blaze of
 “ your Virtues; and the recent glories of
 “ a *Buckingham*, almost obscure the civil Fame,
 “ and military Renown, of a *Cumberland*,
 “ and a *Granby*. But, what are the atchieve-
 “ ments which have made you the darling of
 “ the Army? Is it that, when an Officer had
 “ agreed to resign, you transmitted his Resig-
 “ nation with speed and effect; or kept it
 “ back, lingering on your table, to make a
 “ market of his Commission, and provide for
 “ some needy Dependant, at the expence of
 “ a brave, and ill-requited Veteran? Or,
 “ my Lord, is it that in a moment of pro-
 “ found peace, you ordered up to your resi-
 “ dence, all the troops, distributed through
 “ the Kingdom, with such rapid expedition,
 “ that many supposed an invading Enemy on
 “ the coast? Or is it, that when the fainting re-
 “ giments, covered with the dust, of their long
 “ marches,

* Duke of Rutland.

“ marches, limped into the Capital; your wisdom, and your humanity commanded their
 “ immediate encampment, upon a Swamp,
 “ outside the City; and forbad them the necessary means, of defending themselves,
 “ against the cold, the damp, the disease, of
 “ this salutary situation? Is it, that you drained the Barracks of the Kingdom, to replenish the Hospitals? Or, is it, that when the
 “ surviving skeletons of a wasted, and enfeebled army, were drawn out, under arms, to
 “ pass in review, under your judging eye, to
 “ swell the silly parade of clumsy vanity, and
 “ furnish an hour's æconomical amusement:
 “ you had the heartfelt satisfaction of seeing,
 “ that a single encampment, of your contrivance, was more fatal to the Soldiery, than
 “ the bloodiest Siege; that the mortality of a
 “ Review, surpassed the carnage of a Battle.

“ Oeconomy was the boasted theme of your
 “ Partizans. Oeconomy was the prominent
 “ feature of your professions. You were to
 “ æconomize for Ireland; how have you kept
 “ the promise? As you did every other. Adherence to your word, *in any one point*, has
 “ not injured the consistency of your character. The Pension Bill, introduced by
 “ Mr. Forbes—supported by Mr. Curran—
 “ sanctioned by Mr. Grattan—wished for by
 “ the People of Ireland—did it receive your
 “ countenance, your protection. The ranks
 “ of the military were thinned; but the files
 “ of corruption, were to be full and complete. Prodigality, without check, Profusion, without limit, at the expence of the
 “ people, *is the principle* of the great Oeconomist. A large annual Sum; an income
 “ more than double the revenue of some Sovereign

“ reign Princes, is offered by a poor Nation,
 “ to their Monarch, not for the support of his
 “ Crown, not for the supply of his Govern-
 “ ment, but for the private purpose of en-
 “ abling him to exercise his Charity and Be-
 “ neficence. Tho’ the millions in his private
 “ coffers, have suffered no sensible diminu-
 “ tion, no Monarch can be better disposed to
 “ acts of Benignity, than our Sovereign; and
 “ his Charities, out of our Pockets, never
 “ descending on the heads of our constitution-
 “ al Enemies, should not be restrained by
 “ National Poverty, or controuled by Consti-
 “ tutional Caution. This is the principle of
 “ the œconomical Viceroy: This is the act
 “ of his prudent Administration. It is not,
 “ however, altogether indefensible. Perhaps,
 “ some *writer of refined ingenuity*, may hereafter
 “ tell us, *in print*, that the money of the peo-
 “ ple, may be more safely committed to the
 “ caprice of a Viceroy, than to the discretion
 “ of the People, or their Representatives:
 “ nay, than to the wisdom of the Legislature.
 “ Your defence must be always conducted, at
 “ the expence of truth, decency, and common
 “ sense. A National and Parliamentary In-
 “ sult is the vindication of *Buckingham*. Upon
 “ the principle of your vindication, a Money
 “ Bill may as well originate at the Castle, in
 “ the cabinet of the Viceroy, as in the House
 “ of Commons; and the Money it grants, be
 “ levied full as well, in virtue of a King’s
 “ Letter, as by Authority of Parliament. Any
 “ Sums may *be squeezed out of the complaisant*
 “ *Majorities*. Why is not the fund diminished
 “ which encreases this dangerous complai-
 “ sance? Why are not the corrupt cause, and
 “ the alarming effect, to retire within a known
 “ boundary?

“ boundary? Why, because, according to the
 “ rational and pious computation of *Lord*
 “ *Buckingham*, a moderate fault is more shock-
 “ ing than excessive vice: because, a restraint
 “ of dissipation to income, is less æconomical,
 “ than extravagant waste, and unbounded
 “ profusion. These are the morals, and the
 “ logic, which are to debauch our understand-
 “ ing, and destroy our freedom. Had you,
 “ my Lord, continued one of the pillars of
 “ your Cousin’s Administration, in England, the
 “ Place Bill, and the Revenue Officers Bill, in-
 “ tended, as the Shields of a free Constitution,
 “ against the Arrows of Corruption; and
 “ raised, by the wisdom of Great Britain, be-
 “ fore her Liberty, might have secured to
 “ Ireland, as well more of Integrity, in the
 “ election of the National Representatives,
 “ as of independent exertions in Parliament,
 “ when the Representative was elected; and
 “ knew, that he could not, at the same mo-
 “ ment, and with the same hand, hold a sa-
 “ cred Confidence, and a scandalous Bribe;
 “ that he could not be at once, the dignified
 “ servant of the people, and debased slave of
 “ Administration. *The Revenue Officers, in jus-*
 “ *tice, should not be robbed of their Franchise.* Is
 “ their right of voting, indeed, a Franchise?
 “ Free of a Corporation, but bound to the
 “ Custom House, dare they mutter even the
 “ name of Freedom? their Franchise is beg-
 “ gary, if they dare be honest; and bread, if
 “ they are corrupt. You would not rob them
 “ of the precious right of Free Voters, be-
 “ cause they retain this right, to be robbed
 “ of it by Administration, at its pleasure:
 “ but would they not be robbed of something,
 “ which they value more, the means of
 “ their

“ their Existence, if they hesitated to lay
 “ their Franchise at the feet of Adminis-
 “ tration? There is no injustice in disfran-
 “ chising a voluntary Slave: but there is a
 “ gross iniquity, in permitting a hostile
 “ Bondsman, to act in the great concern of
 “ Freedom. He is a Spy, in the habit of a Sol-
 “ dier: an enemy under the appearance of an
 “ Ally, in the Camp of the Constitution; and
 “ ought to be driven from it with disgrace,
 “ if suffered to escape without punishment.
 “ No! he remains. The punctilious justice
 “ of Lord Buckingham operates in behalf of
 “ little rights; when the exercise of these
 “ rights are in no way beneficial, or even
 “ *belonging* to the Slaves he protects, and
 “ may be pernicious to the Liberty of Ireland.
 “ Where was this justice, this strict, this im-
 “ partial, justice, when a PEER of the Realm
 “ was robbed, not of an ideal right, not of a
 “ shadowy Privilege, but of the substantial
 “ provision, made for the support of his dig-
 “ nity, out of the funds of the people: *at the*
 “ *instance of Parliament.* Where was Justice
 “ then? Yes, this was Justice, Justice, upon a
 “ principle, which made an act of unrelenting
 “ and inhuman severity, appear to an indig-
 “ nant people, indecently flagitious. A Vice-
 “ roy pulling from under a virtuous Noble-
 “ man, the only prop, on which he leand for
 “ support; and taking out of his mouth, the
 “ bread put into it, by the hand of the Nati-
 “ on, because he dared to be truly noble, to
 “ despise the proud mandate of a contemned
 “ Court, and exercise the privilege of his
 “ high station, to advance the dignity, and
 “ protect the independence, of his Country,
 “ presented a spectacle which England gazed
 “ upon with astonishment, and Ireland beheld
 “ with

" with horror. Here no length of time can
 " efface the impression, or reconcile, to the
 " freedom and generosity, of the Nation, an
 " action; in which private spite mingled
 " with malice to the public, and the meanness
 " of a sordid cruelty, was heightened by the
 " menace thrown out against, and the vengeance
 " inflicted on, a distinguished integrity
 " in the highest department of the State; and
 " a probity the more meritorious, from the
 " distressed circumstances of its dignified Possessor.
 " The same *audacious and infamous Principle*, was held out in the dismissal of every
 " PEER and every GENTLEMAN who dared to
 " disobey the *infernal warrant* under the hand of
 " Buckingham, commanding each, and every,
 " of them, to be the Executioner of his own
 " Independence as a Legislator, and of the Legislative
 " freedom of his Country. Irish spirit must stoop to a degree of submission
 " equally infamous, and abject, when it recognizes
 " *your principle* as a necessary principle
 " of good Government; viz. " That a single
 " act of Parliamentary integrity constitutes
 " official incapacity." Upon this principle the
 " Duke of Leinster, the Earl of Shannon, Mr.
 " Ponsonby, and his brother, with many
 " others, were displaced: and Lord Strangford
 " lost the Pension voted him by Parliament.
 " In *what right* does the Executive appoint
 " to office in Administration? As the
 " Trustee of the Nation. Is it a faithful discharge
 " of this great trust reposed in our first
 " Magistrate, to convert the noble *PILLARS* of
 " a free Constitution into the rotten *props* of
 " tyrannical Caprice? is it just or is it decent
 " in a Stranger to exclude men of principle
 " from the share they hold in the Administration

" tion of *their Land* : because their complai-
 " fance to the Court does not debase itself
 " into implicit servility, and consent to the
 " unqualified slavery of their Country ? Must
 " the Nobles of Ireland be ground into Slaves,
 " by a petty Representative of Royalty, be-
 " fore they are qualified to assist in the Coun-
 " cils, or act in the high departments of the
 " State ? Is this the principle held out by
 " Lord Buckingham, to a proud Nobility, and
 " a spirited People ? A Nation like this will
 " never be driven by a wise Viceroy ; to the
 " desperacy of thinking, that patience may be
 " no very high virtue : and Loyalty but a
 " moderate merit. And yet what must we
 " think, what must we feel, if Treason against
 " the Constitution be openly followed with
 " rewards and honors : if an attempt to save
 " the Country in *its last extremity* by the noblest
 " amongst our Nobles, be pursued, as a
 " crime, with penalty, and proscription ?
 " Your panegyrists may hereafter rake into
 " the ashes, and endeavour to find the embers,
 " of a fire long since extinguished. They
 " will strive to renew the scenes, which have
 " been long since shifted ; and bring upon the
 " stage Actors, who have many, many, years
 " ago made their last exeunt. They will cry
 " out ARISTOCRACY. That confederacy has
 " been long since broken : and Aristocracy
 " is no more. The face of things is changed,
 " and there does not exist a ground, on which
 " such a combination can be supposed to exist
 " at present. But in truth my Lord I will do
 " you Justice. You endeavoured to retrieve
 " the supports you had lost : though you ne-
 " ver will relinquish the principles, which
 " forced them from your side. The heredi-
 " tary

" tary spirit of the House of Cavendish, in
 " the Ponsonby's spurned connection with a
 " Liar : and animated its abhorrence, of any
 " alliance, with perfidy and falsehood. The
 " noble Duke, whose virtues do him more
 " honor, than his rank at the head of our
 " Peerage, disdained the Hyæna call of Recon-
 " ciliation : and thought it infamy to be rec-
 " koned among the friends of Buckingham.
 " The EARL OF SHANNON, having assisted in
 " pinioning the ruffian arm, raised to strike ;
 " and in wresting out of the Assassin hand, the
 " dagger pointed at the heart of Ireland ;
 " could not be induced to hold the *first* em-
 " ployments, and the *largest* patronage, under
 " such an Administration : and sacrificed
 " without regret, what a mind, less noble,
 " would deem the highest considerations to
 " his regards for his Country. The bosom of
 " this generous Nobleman must swell with the
 " proud recollection, that this single act of
 " patriotic beneficence, to a whole commu-
 " nity, so signal, and so seasonable, out-
 " weighs in merit, and in worth, a thousand
 " effects of petty services to the numerous
 " followers of his power, and the dependants
 " on his bounties : and that though it dimi-
 " nishes his power of gratifying himself, by
 " obliging others, it affords him the superior
 " satisfaction of seeing his Country FREE ;
 " and HIMSELF considered, as one of the most
 " illustrious Instruments, of its DELIVERANCE.
 " Upon the same principle, and with the same
 " views, which forced these Noblemen to re-
 " sign ; the *Police establishment* has been conti-
 " nued, and cherished, by the æconomic
 " Viceroy. Extortion from the purses of
 " Citizens, for the inadequate protection of
 " their

“ their persons : Enormous charge for slight
 “ service : fat and greasy Magistracy bloated
 “ into unwieldy distemper, by the spoils torn
 “ from honest industry, are the staring fea-
 “ tures of this Institution, so far as it regards
 “ the Residents of the Capital : but with re-
 “ spect to the community at large, and our
 “ sacred Constitution, we see something lurk-
 “ ing behind it, still more black and baneful.
 “ The patrol of the City, is the Body-guard
 “ of Corruption : the midnight watchman is
 “ a mid-day Voter : the fund of personal safe-
 “ ty is turned into a sink of seduction : the
 “ looking glass of an Alderman, in which he
 “ must see, as often as he looks, the features of
 “ a *monster* and a *slave* is held up to the City,
 “ as the shield, which keeps the knife of mur-
 “ der from their throats : his slumbers on the
 “ down we have purchased are the vigilance,
 “ and activity, which are to guard us in our
 “ beds : and the very wine he drinks at City
 “ cost to deepen a repose, that never wakens
 “ at the call of duty, is to shelter the peacea-
 “ ble Citizen, from the nightly consequences
 “ of mischievous ebriety and riotous intoxica-
 “ tion. But why should I attempt to detail
 “ the glories of your Administration ? It is
 “ impossible in any short description to display
 “ all your merits fully. *Oconomy—Reform—Hu-
 “ manity—Constitution.*—The benumbed Sol-
 “ dier stiffening into insensibility, cannot, as
 “ the last vital heat, forsakes his frozen body,
 “ proclaim with a cold tongue, the praises of
 “ princely Oconomy. I will be the Organ of
 “ the feelings which have ceased in him Re-
 “ formation too. The *man* here was visible in
 “ the *minister*. Brutal Cruelty attended neces-
 “ sary correction : the Pistol of self-murder
 accom-

“ accompanied the pen of the Calculator;
 “ and REFORM was written in letters of
 “ blood over the Office-door of a little Peculator. A rich English Peer, a Viceroy of
 “ Ireland, in the first ranks of the first Nobility, in Europe, in the sacred and most
 “ important trust his Sovereign could
 “ commit to a distinguished subject, stoops
 “ in the moment of Reform, and with the
 “ sentence of death to a Peculator on his lips,
 “ stoops himself to feed upon the Ranker
 “ offices of a grosser iniquity, *swindles* the
 “ Nation out of the Bargain it had dearly
 “ bought; and puts the fruits of his fraud into the pocket of his Brother. But I have
 “ done with your measures. The Parliament
 “ of Ireland has not yet begun. Let them
 “ inspect that heap of studied confusion, the
 “ Accounts of the Arithmetical Viceroy; and
 “ confound *his Lady-day Advocates* with the result of their examination. Let the splitting
 “ of the Revenue Boards, the encrease of
 “ Pensions, the over-flow of every other channel of Corruption; which deluged the
 “ Land, during this luckless period, be reserved for the animadversion of that August
 “ Body. I turn with abhorrence from your
 “ measures, with contempt to your Men.
 “ In your selection and employment of the
 “ principal Officers of the State, you have
 “ shewed a sagacity as blunt, as dull, and as
 “ unpenetrating, as the choice itself, and the
 “ objects of it, have been odious, and offensive, to the People. This was a national
 “ concern: but you disdained to consult the
 “ feelings, or gratify the wishes of the Nation.
 “ Neither the advice of the Wise, nor the
 “ influence of the Virtuous, were considered

“ by you, as the proper supports of your Go-
 “ vernment. Has not your success, in advanc-
 “ ing the system of your party, been answera-
 “ ble to the spirit, and talents, of your crea-
 “ tures? has not the efficiency of your Go-
 “ vernment precisely corresponded, to the re-
 “ spectable characters, of the Instruments you
 “ relied on, to render it both reputable, and
 “ effective? Whenever you stooped to the
 “ rare condescension, of consulting any other,
 “ than your own, inimitable Headpiece; or
 “ when treachery in your trust, and acts of a
 “ blacker Hue, and a more treasonable com-
 “ plexion, than those crimes which brought
 “ the Viceroy of Charles to the block, had
 “ sunk you to the abject necessity of appearing
 “ a Culprit at the bar of the Parliament; and
 “ to the scandal of standing for ever a State
 “ Criminal upon their Records: who were the
 “ secret Advisers, whose Counsels betrayed
 “ you to this irretrievable peril, who were
 “ the open Advocates whose bold, manly,
 “ eloquent, and informed, defence has in-
 “ volved you in irretrievable disgrace? Men
 “ avowing profligacy in principle, and cor-
 “ ruption in measure. Men, whose mean ta-
 “ lents coming to your Court, under the re-
 “ commendation of a prostitute, and aban-
 “ doned dishonesty, were well received, high-
 “ ly promoted, and continue still in office,
 “ and in *Honor*. Let them enjoy *these Honors*
 “ and emoluments. Such Rewards are slight
 “ compensations for the waste, the wondrous
 “ waste of real dignity; for the prostitution of
 “ their talents; contemptible, as these ta-
 “ lents are. And the misery of being number-
 “ ed amongst the Circæan herd, who have
 “ foregone the dignity of human Nature,
 “ upon two legs, to wallow in the sty
 “ of

“ of Corruption, and follow, upon all fours,
 “ the enchanting *Buckingham*. Whatever was
 “ mean in talent, or fordid in principle,
 “ amongst us, you kindly took to yourself.
 “ The distinguished ability, and the incor-
 “ ruptable integrity of the Land, were either
 “ overlooked, or under-reached by you; or
 “ graciously reserved by Providence, for the
 “ protection of their Country. Let me at-
 “ tempt a sketch, not a picture, of some of
 “ the latter. The steady, uniform, un sullied,
 “ integrity of the venerable EARL, who,
 “ through the many years of a well spent
 “ life, has undeviateingly persevered in one
 “ line of rectitude; and approved himself
 “ the Father of his Country, and the Friend
 “ of Mankind; not only by the energetic
 “ activity of his own virtues but by the
 “ production and calculation of every splen-
 “ did talent, and pure principle in others.
 “ The prudence of this respectable Noble-
 “ man, matured by age, perfected by expe-
 “ rience, and untainted by the base passions
 “ of mean, and corrupt men, were neither
 “ confided in to, advise, nor of course could
 “ be courted to defend, the measures of your
 “ Administration. From whence sprung this
 “ neglect of the Earl, and this neglect of
 “ him was an insult to the Kingdom? *Proba-*
 “ *bly because it was an insult.* It was more. It
 “ contradicted your avowed principle: It be-
 “ lied your own professed parsimony. His
 “ weight, his influence, the sanctification of
 “ his very name, might have been purchased
 “ upon the *cheapest terms*. You start, my
 “ Lord,—but it is true. Upon the very cheap-
 “ est terms.—Your assurance, fortified by
 “ facts, that your views were honorable, that

“ your measures, were wisely conceived,
 “ and to be honestly executed. You have
 “ been equally discreet in the exclusion of
 “ other men, whom corrupt and unconstitu-
 “ tional motives only, could shut out from
 “ confidential Councils.—There is a man,—
 “ need I name him?—a man, who was a con-
 “ stitutional Attorney General, and who in
 “ office, acted with a political probity and
 “ moderation, to which, unfortunately for the
 “ public, his successor was a stranger; a man,
 “ to whom in that office, and since his ad-
 “ vancement to a more elevated situation, the
 “ eyes of the Nation have been raised, as the
 “ ablest Lawyer in the Land; and no less
 “ constitutionally honest, than judicially able.
 “ I respect the Judges of the Land; and I
 “ trust, none of these truly venerable Ma-
 “ gistrates, will suppose, that I mean any
 “ thing, comparatively invidious, in saying,
 “ that the clearest head, the cleanest hands,
 “ the soundest heart, and a warm, glowing,
 “ zealous, attachment to the Laws, and con-
 “ stitution of his Country, distinguish the
 “ CHIEF BARON OF THE EXCHEQUER, and
 “ place him conspicuously high, in the affec-
 “ tion, the esteem, and the confidence, of
 “ his Countrymen. Has this great Lawyer
 “ been consulted upon great legal questions,
 “ by Mr. Pitt’s Viceroy? Unfortunately for
 “ the Laws, the Constitution, and the mis-
 “ rable and degraded Creature, who might have
 “ profited by the Advice : No : never. Have
 “ you also, deigned, since your arrival amongst
 “ us, to consult the illustrious Mr. Grattan,
 “ ASSERTOR OF THE RIGHTS OF IRELAND? No.
 “ The Light of his Country, never was
 “ permitted to illuminate the Castle, dur-
 ing

“ ing the dark, and disgraceful, period of
 “ your gloomy, and unglorified Adminis-
 “ tration. This Saviour, a second time
 “ of our Constitution, was not allowed,
 “ to redeem you from the folly, the madness,
 “ of attempting to overturn it. It is an aug-
 “ mentation of his glory, before almost in-
 “ capable of encrease, that the nation is
 “ again indebted to the splendid eloquence,
 “ and incorruptible integrity, of this true Pa-
 “ triot, for a re-assertion of its dignity ; for
 “ a re-confirmation of its independence.—
 “ With like sagacity, with equal virtue, and
 “ with the same success, you attempted, no
 “ doubt, to seduce Mr. CURRAN, from his
 “ active loyalty to the Prince, and his ad-
 “ hesure fidelity to the Constitution, into the
 “ enervating embrace of Corruption : and
 “ you have beheld with the mingled, and
 “ grateful emotions of terrified guilt, and
 “ exasperated animosity, this prodigy of parts ;
 “ this mind, rich with the rays of native ge-
 “ nius, and bright with the beams of every
 “ science, with a proud consciousness of its
 “ value, and its virtue, disdaining to enter
 “ the Hospital, or mingle with the Invalids,
 “ of State : and scorning to lend the lustre
 “ of his luminous talents, save to the detection
 “ of a black conspiracy against his Country ;
 “ and save, to the exposition, not the vindic-
 “ cation, of characters and conduct, conse-
 “ crated by his eloquence, if our language
 “ can last, to immortal disgrace. In truth,
 “ I have often lamented, that shining abili-
 “ ties should be compelled, by any political
 “ necessity, to exhaust themselves, upon
 “ mean and despicable subjects. I have con-
 “ sidered the scandalous dignity conferred
 on

“ on Verres, as a misuse of the Roman Ora-
 “ tor’s power : and it is my opinion, that Ci-
 “ cero descended, when he stooped to immor-
 “ talize, the infamy, of the Sicilian Chief Go-
 “ vernor. Posterity may condemn Mr. CURRAN.
 “ The bold flights of his ardent imagination,
 “ have been lately clogged by an awkward in-
 “ cumbrance. The strong wing of his Eagle-
 “ pinioned genius, raised an animal, more
 “ slow, more unweildy, and more helpless,
 “ than the Tortoise, into sublime, and æther-
 “ rial situations : but the moment it arrived
 “ at this strange region, the eminence be-
 “ came fatal to it : the grasp which held it
 “ above, was relaxed : it tumbled down hea-
 “ vily to its native earth ; and was crushed
 “ by the velocity of its descent, to that dirt,
 “ upon which it crawled, and above which,
 “ it should never have been elevated. Cicero
 “ was assassinated by a Soldier :—Mr. Cur-
 “ ran’s life was aimed at by a Wretch, who
 “ had been a Soldier ; and fought, under
 “ your Administration, to silence Eloquence,
 “ and stifle Patriotism. The attempt will
 “ be repeated : what Government would not
 “ connive at, and reward the removal of such
 “ an obstacle, to its ease, and popularity.
 “ When the names of *Charlemont, Grattan, Forbes,*
 “ and *Curran*, reinforced by *Leinster, Shan-*
 “ *non, Ponsonby*, and the squadrons, that fled
 “ from the black flag of a piratical Vice-
 “ roy, to range themselves under the Ban-
 “ ner of the Constitution, appear in the
 “ long roll of Opposition : What names can
 “ you repeat ?—A list of Buckingham’s friends
 “ would be a lampoon on any Government.
 “ You are leaving the supporters of your last
 “ Measures, behind you, as the testamentary

“ ry Executors of your Will, in favour of
 “ Ireland. Their virtues are your last be-
 “ quest to us. Precious legacy!—Resume the
 “ Gift: transport them, with yourself, to the
 “ Land, from which you was transported to
 “ us. We will then endeavour to forget
 “ your attempt on our Legislature; and the
 “ other innumerable acts, of atrocious ma-
 “ lignity, and mischief, which marked your
 “ Administration, and branded the Viceroy.
 “ Depart in our peace; you cannot in your
 “ own, from amongst us.”

Let us, Sir, dismiss Lord Buckingham for
 ever. No; his friends, the Castle Pamphlet-
 teers, detain him still amongst us; and make
 the Rock of our Law, the pedestal of his for-
 titude. It is a rock he is chained to, with the
 Vulture's DISEASE, and REMORSE, preying
 upon his entrails: a Heaven-inflicted punish-
 ment, for his presumption; in attempting to
 steal the celestial fire of our Constitution, to
 animate the lifeless image of Despotism. His
 Oath, too!—an oath of Office, is made the
 justification of superfluous Insolence, to our
 Parliament. Can he, who is false to man,
 be true to God?—Never. Will any slave
 amongst them, stand up, and say, Lord Buck-
 ingham was nice in TRUTH; the most neces-
 sary of honourable delicacies? There are
 proofs, numberless proofs, that he was not.
 He saw, however, a separation of the King-
 doms, if *this* was to choose her Regent. Does
 the exercise of our Right, imply national in-
 discretion? Yes; because we assert our Inde-
 pendence, of a lately usurping, subordinate
 body of men, in Britain; we, therefore, must
 separate from Britain herself. We are now,
 “ no

no otherwise connected with Britain, than as her King is our's, and our, her's. If she can, of right, depose her King, so can we, also: For, I hope, we of Ireland, are Men. But we are loyal Men; loyal to our Sovereign, and attached to our Legislature; and abhor the idea, of any other King reigning over us; or any other, than our own Parliament, interfering with our Regulations.—Neither Mr. Pitt, nor his Majorities, in the English Parliament, shall dethrone our gracious Monarch; or alter the line of Succession for us: nor shall Lord Buckingham, or his *little Minorities* here, crown the Great Seal, with the Imperial Diadem of Ireland; or make it even a Candidate for the Succession, against a Prince, who lives in the bosoms of our People: and who must be as poor, as he is rich, in virtue, if he had any thing to dread from the ridiculous Competitor, set up, against his Highness, by Lord Buckingham.

The Irish Legislature spurned this Image, more gross than any of idolatrous Superstition; and acted the honest part, which plain probity, and unrefining, yet masculine wisdom, required. They gave HIM, who was most, (of any thinking Person then living,) interested in the unity of the Executive, and in the union of the Empire, the trust of the Supreme Prerogative. They gave to the Son, the management of what must be, in some future day, his own Inheritance, during the incapacity of his Royal Father. They exerted a Privilege, as fully vested in them, as in any other Legislature, or in any other Nation. They escaped the ridicule, the impiety, the injustice, the disloyalty, of bowing before the Great Seal; of worshipping Lord Buck-

Buckingham's *Impostor*; of receding from the Equity of the Prince's claim; and holding themselves out to Europe, as a Nation, disaffected to the person and family of our present Sovereign. If England had postponed the Prince—but England could not: I will not indulge even a supposition, that Britain could have acted so gross a part. If she could, I would wish for a separation from her. I would renounce at any time my connection with infamy, indecency, and injustice.

When Posterity, after the Revolution of Centuries, shall look back to this period of our History, and reading *fact*, shall be inclined to think *this fact no fable*: what must they suppose of the Parliament, who could for a moment listen to, and of the politician, who could have the confidence to propose, for their adoption, a measure so wild, so frantic: a measure, if it were to pass, stamping deep and indelible folly on the intellect of our great Council; and degradation of the most disgraceful kind, on the dignity of the Nation. Posterity must think the Parliament patient in the extreme, and the Orator beside himself. What! gravely make a THING, an *inanimate thing*, a *trinket* that never had life, or intellect: a *Seal* in duress, a *dead Prisoner* in the custody of Lord Thurlow; make *this* our King? expect *this thing* to think for us, and with us? Yes, Sir, *this Imperial Organ*, this tongue of a dead Emperor, this sign, this shadow, was to be our King. This was the ingenious device of the patriotic Viceroy Lord Buckingham; and of that sagacious Statesman Lord Fitzgibbon.

If we save Lord Fitzgibbon from a supposition, which a malignant mind would indulge
N with

with rapture, that he was struggling against the proud sense of independence, which affluence and talents like his almost always suggest; scrambling for power against the convictions of a sound understanding; and opposing the hopes of a strong ambition, to the compunctions of a heart naturally honest; we must believe, what no man in this Kingdom credits, that he is ignorant, of the first elements of his own profession. The Seal of a Lunatic to a Bond, or any other Instrument, does not give it validity. The Seal is not the executing party. It is merely *evidence* of a more deliberate consideration, in the party perfecting the deed. The promptness of Lord Fitzgibbon's decision, would instantly decree, this *intelligencer of fraud*, this *Voucher of a Lye* to be torn from the instrument, and the instrument to be cancelled; if it came before him in his Court, and required his determination *judicially*.

If the Irish Legislature, could have been wrought up, into the madness of consenting to such a procedure, the purposes of the Faction were answered. *Ridicule* of the constitutional, at that time, the ruling Party, if Lord Thurlow refused to permit his DUMB FRIEND to attest a Lye, and be an Accomplice, in so gross a Forgery:—*A sly, insidious, connivance, at the half-establishment of the DESIRED PRINCIPLE*, if his DUMB FRIEND, had in the mean time changed Hands, and got into the possession of the English Regent: *and a sort of consent of the Irish Legislative*, that the Regent of Britain, *as such*, in affixing his Seal, as evidence of the assent, of the King of Ireland, *who then was not* to our acts, should legislate for Ireland. The attempt, tho' unsuccessful, gave Mr. Fitzgibbon,

Gibbon infinite merit, with the Enemies of our legislative Independance.

Let us contemplate, with an honest, and fervent gratitude, the BLESSED INSTRUMENTS of our Redemption, from this legislative Disgrace, and national Calamity. Let Ireland clasp them to her bosom, and wear them on her heart. Let the names of GRATTAN, of CURRAN, of FORBES, vibrate for ever on her ear; and excite in her breast, the exquisite sensation of parental rapture, exalted into refined extacy, by the merits, and virtues of Children. Let the immortal GENIUS of our sacred Constitution, point in future ages, the Eye and the Attention, of a free and generous Posterity, to the Tomb of CHARLEMONT; to the Monuments of the other illustrious PEERS, who in the days of Peril, exposed themselves in the front of the Combat; and fought the battles of her Freedom: Let her draw them round these awful remembrancers, of Honor unsullied by Corruption; of dignity undebased by servility; of Title unpurchased by Prostitution: and tell them: "Lo: these are
 " the remains of your Benefactors: the Parents, and Protectors, of your sacred Rights;
 " the Assertors of your GREAT CHARTER:
 " the ardent Promoters, and steady Patrons,
 " of your Liberty: distinguished in their day,
 " by the Admiration; and endeared to the
 " Affections of my emancipated People: yet,
 " reproached too, by a few *vile and venal men*,
 " because they adhered to your Interests: pursued with uncredited Calamities, because
 " they did not desert your Party, and betray
 " your Independance. Check, my Sons, your
 " rising anger; and let not the heave of Indignation overpower the throb of Gratitude.
 Look

“ Look again at these Monuments, where the
 “ labours of the Patriot Band find rest ; and
 “ from which TIME has almost worn the short
 “ memorial of their Virtues. I see you are
 “ moved even at the injury of time, to these
 “ repositories of more than the purest private
 “ worth : but restrain your sorrows : raise
 “ your heads that bend to the ground ; stop
 “ the tear that is starting to moisten it : Re-
 “ gret not that the frames which enclosed
 “ SUCH SPIRITS are dust : that even the tombs
 “ that contain their bones are mouldering into
 “ decay. A GLORY has sprung from their
 “ ashes, that will never die : a Glory that
 “ whilst it throws the brightest rays, round
 “ their blessed and immortal memories, will
 “ enlighten successive generations with *true*
 “ *principle* ; and animate to patriotic effort.
 “ Return now my Sons to your several stat-
 “ ions in society. If the MANY cannot aspire
 “ to their high rank ; let them imitate their
 “ private virtues. If the FEW amongst you
 “ can : let them as did those whose very
 “ tombs inspire posterity with an emulation
 “ of adorning the Calendar of Humanity and
 “ of Patriotism, with fainted names, deserve
 “ also, to be called the FATHERS OF THEIR
 “ COUNTRY, and the FRIENDS OF MANKIND.”

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